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A MISCELLANY

OF SUNDRY

Essayes, Paradoxes,

AND

Problematicall Discourses, Letters and Characters;

Together with

Politicall Deductions from the HISTORY of the Earl of *Essex*, Executed under Queen ELIZABETH.

By

FRANCIS OSBORN Esquire.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. Grismond*, for *R. Royston*, at the *Angel* in *Ivy-Lane*, 1659.

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To my Vertuous, *no leſſe then in all things elſe* deſerving *Neece, Mrs.* Elizabeth Draper.

Deare Neece,

IT is on all hands confeſt, that ſome things here may be thought as *unſuitable* to *my Years*, as *your Education* (not yet removed from a *vertuous Mother*,) By thoſe are not acquainted with the *externall Impulſe* which makes their *Publication* to the world unavoidably *Neceſſary*, in reference to the preventing a *falſe Impreſsion*; no leſſe Then that more *Inward* of *naturall affection* to you (not knowing but this may be my

last opportunity) to do right to Gratitude: So as if any *expression here* should be of force to *make you blush*, it would by *augmenting* your *Beauty* prove a *Good Effect* of a cause at the worst but *respectively* Evil: and only in reference to such a *superlative goodness* as *you* are indowed withall: whose *apprehension* of *Ill* results rather from *Admonition* and *Prudence*, then *Experience* or *Consent*. Faults already become in many *ripe for punishment*, being not yet *arrived* within the *Circle* of your *thoughts*. Wherefore (since the *worst* can be found in these papers, if candidly taken, does not

come ſhort of ſome of the *beſt* are daily made vendible,) I deſire you to vail your *Judgement* with *Charity*; known in *remoter Relations* ſo *extenſive* as to cover more *Levity*, then I hope is *extant here*: Or if blear-red by *Intereſt*, I ſhould miſtake no leſſe in its *own deſert*, then the *acceptance* of the *World*, it can not *diſparage* your *Name* long; which no doubt will ſodainly be *changed*, and you left *free*, either to *own* or *reject* what is here preſented: unleſſe *God* for the *puniſhment* of the *preſent Age* will make *men unwilling*, becauſe *unworthy* to approch ſo much

virtue, and other *excellencies* as are *naturall* in *you*; the *repetition* of which would not onely call up the *bloud* into *your face*, but *confound mine*, were I guilty of half the *infidelity* in your Sex that *ignorance*, *folly* and *malice* hath *voted* to my *share*: who am so *zealous* through the *mediation of your perfections* in the *vindication* of *women*, that I am not onely ready to become a *Convert*, but a *Martyr*, rather then *appeare* any thing but, *Dear Neece*,

Your Servant

FRANCIS OSBORN.

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THE

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

READers in the generality do not ſtudy (eſpecially in reference to *contemporaries*) what may *beneſit* themſelves, but *blemiſh* the preſent *Authours* repute. So as the Pillars of *Fame* and *Protection*, that led our *Fathers* through the dark Wilderneſs of *Ignorance*, into the glorious *Land of the Living*

ving (where they ſtill *inhabit*, though under no more *authentick Charter* then that of *Preſcription*, being in all other evidences of *worth matched*, if not *exceeded* by *younger men*:) are clouded through reproches, and forced to *correſpond* for the *Integrity* of every Line by *Truths* moſt capitall enemies, *Hypocriſie*, *Superſtition* and *Folly*: And before ſuch *partiall* and weak *Tribunalls* as are *ſubornednolleſſe* then *guided* by *Intereſt*, and an awfull *reverence* towards the moſt deformed Antiquity; from whence the *Pen* (accounted by *Cæſar* a decent *Companion* for the *Scepter*) is now become the *Bubble* of the *Rabble*: Forgetting that though it may be ſo in the management of *Fools*, yet that no *vertuous acts* can be *regiſtred*, or *Learning maintained* but through *her mediation*: Nor is the progreſs of *conjecturall propoſitions* to be *obſtructed*, but rather *indulged* in reference to the credit of a Nation. The firſt *Idea* often owning the *glory* of the *whole deſign*; manifeſt in *Germany*, that may not unpoſſibly ſtand more obliged

for

for her rare *Inventions* to the *Liberty* ſhe *gives*, and an *Indulgence* the Inhabitants have for any *Novelty*, though too weak to extend *probability* beyond the *fantaſie* of the *firſt projector*; Then any *naturall fertility* inherent in the place, appeares in the *perfection* they receive from *politer Regions*; Being themſelves ſo farre from caſting *Dirt* or *Ink* in the face of the *parent*, that in the leaſt caſe of likelihood they do all lend *aſſiſtance*: contrary to the *baſer practice* of *England*, where if a *Spirit* be found ſo prevalent in *Reaſon* as to be proof againſt any *reply*, it is uſually for the oppoſers of *Knowledge* to *impetrate* their *revenge* from ſome weak *adminiſtrator of the power of Ignorance*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the firſt (as I have heard) that ventured to talk about, and ſail aloof from the beaten track of the *Schools*: who upon the diſcovery of ſo apparent an *error* as a *Torrid Zone*, intended to pro-

ceed in an inquisition after *more solid Truths*: Till the mediation of some whose *Livelihood* lay in hammering *shrines* for this *superannuated study*, possessed *Queen Elizabeth*, that such *Doctrine* was against *God* no lesse then *her Fathers Honour*, whose *Faith* (if he *owed* any) was grounded upon *School-Divinity*. Whereupon she *chid* him: who was (by his own confession) ever after *branded* with the title of an *Atheist*, though a known *asserter* of *God* and *providence*.

A *like censure* fell to the share of venerable *Bacon*, till over-balanced by a greater weight of *glory* from *Strangers*: Nor could desert and the name of the *English Jewel*, given *Selden* beyond Sea, *free* him from a *like imputation* at home. Wherefore *Br. Ca. Di. Ho. Ha. Hi. St. Tu.* and a *number more* that have *imbellished* this *doting Age* with new notions, may apprehend *comfort* from *this contemplation*, that *Fame* is no lesse

leſſe *eternall* then *Deviation* is *Mortall*. Though it may be thought *ſtrange* why any farther *proſecution* of *truth* ſhould be *perſecuted* amongſt men not yet fully *reſolved* what *it is*: when nothing redounded more to the *Proteſtants honour*, then the *free paſſage* they have *always* given to *Books* of *controverſies*, whereas the *reading* of them is a *mortall ſinne* in *Rome*, and *at beſt*, liable to the *Inquiſition*: not to be *impured* to any thing but the invincible *Reaſon* we have *on our ſide*, So well managed by *Mr. Chillingsworth*, as the fluent mouthes of the *Jeſuites* were ſtopped till his *death*, and ſome time after. There being nothing but *Mathematicall demonſtrations* able to drive them from the *ambiguous interpretations* they put both upon *Scripture* and *Fathers*, behind which the *Papacy* hath for many Centuries played at *Bo-peep* with *State* and *Church*. And yet how this *poor man* was *abuſed* at his *death*, is more for-

the Nations credit to *conceal*, then *publish*. Neither is this *frenzy* capable of any reall *Reformation*, since those pretend to a power of *garbleing* things brought to the *Presse*, are not all of *one* and the same *Judgement*: and from whose *divisions* new *Books* run the fortune of the *middle-aged* man in the *Fable*, that became *bald*, by an endeavour to *gratifie* the humours of persons *inconsiderable* for *weight* or *number*. I know *censures* do not all fall within the Circuit of one *Meridian*, yet am as certain, that no *Dispute* can be maintained, but where *half*, if not the *most* curious part, is supported by *Conjecture*. And that our best *Physicall Conclusions* have been deduced out of *meere mistakes*: which the *World* (though never so long-lived) is not likely to *want*, and therefore *improbably* proclaimed at her *fartherest extent* of *Knowledge*: which if true, few would *give*, or *increase* the stipends of *Arts*; it being incongruous to expect new.

Honour

Honour from those confesse themselves not able to *augment* their own, and so farre *diffident* of an ability to match the *ancients*, as they take the *indeavour* not only for *impossible*, but a *high* if not a *damnable presumption*. Wherefore it suites *Universitie*-Interest to *indulge* such as bring *fresh notions* to their *Mill*, though *smutted* with some *errors*: It being *usuall* for *wages to cease*, and an *Ingine* to be *neglected*, upon the first discovery that the *work* is *finished*: Not to be denyed to *follow* an *opposing* what is already *arrived to a generall acceptance*. Especially in an *Age* when *God* and the *Magistrate* lies *blasphemed* on *every Stall*. Nor is the *knavery* of obscure *Stationers* a small *Remora* to *desert*: that in *envy* to those of their *own Trade*, and to *debauch* the esteem of *Books*, do *incourage*, if not *hire*, foul-mouthed *Ballad-makers* to *ruffle*, *dogs-eare*, and *contaminate* by *base Language* and spurious *censures* the *choysest*

leaves. Yet the *Blasphemers* against the *Spirit* of *Knowledge* become *vendible* in reference to *their names* they pretend in their *Title-page* to *confute*, sometime the *Trade* of *Al. Ro.* who used to *skirmish* (though only armed with a *blunt quill*, and a *duller Reason*) the *worthies* of our *Nation* by *Troops*. Nor is it probable any farther attempt upon our *English* affaires should be purchased cheaper then at the *Writer's* prejudice: Since so *honest* an *endeavour* as the proving, It was the *Father* that eat the *sower Grapes*, and not the *Son*, whose teeth were set an edge, is by some so farre perverted. Now in reference to this, or any thing else may relate *to me*, If my *Years* and *Infirmities* that stand ready at the gate to hurry me out of this *World*, nor the many *lines* I have *drawn* suitable to the *generall phansies*, with a *protestation* never to *trespasse* again upon *Love* or *History*, cannot shroud me from the *pelting* of *Tongues*; Let me humbly im-

implore this *favour* of both *Sexes*, that ſuch as do it, would imitate the candor of a *Carnaval*, wherein (though all *Italy* appear but *one* intire *Bedlam*) nothing is throwne, but what favours more of *Muſk* then *Malice*. But if I am born to be *aſperſed*, I could wiſh it might be with ſuch *Ink* as may at leaſt *beautifie* the *Writer*, and not *contaminate* us *both*: it being an *injury*, though farre below the *ſufferer's revenge*, to be *pinched* between the *naſty finger* and *thumb* of a *brawny Ignorance*. Which heightens greatly the *obligation* to him that *for my ſake* undertook ſo *unworthy an Antagoniſt*: Whoſe *want* of a *true knowledge* of *me* hath led him into as great an *exceſſe* in reference to *my Commendations*, As the like *defect* may not unpoſſibly have *expoſed* me to a cenſure of *ingratitude*, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too *ſparing in his*: A *fault* I promiſe to *amend* upon the leaſt intimation of an occaſion.

Now

Now being compel'd to *own* what followes, or to *venture* the having it layd at *my door* with all the *Imperfections* so many *Adulterated Transcriptions* have *Deformed* it with; I thought it lesse *Dishonourable* to trespass upon *Gravity* (a *Defect* in *Nature*, or at best but a *Ceremony* resulting from the *Morosity* of *Age*) then to offer violence to *Prudence*, (the most *signall advantage* deducible from *Time*:) By denying my hand to the *emendation* of a *subreptitious Copy*, which I verily believe my *Youth* (though *foolish* enough) was not in probability likely to have been *guilty* of; yet must have had my *abilities* now *measured* by it. For the *sufficiency* of which I shall not *correspond*, having been led through *Necessity* and others *perswasions*, rather then my *own*, to think that though they are *out of Fashion* with *me*, they may become *decent* for *others* to *follow*, or *avoid*. Being in every respect else à meere *Patient*, and no otherwayes

wayes *active* then at the requeſt, and for ſatisfying the *Stationer*, to whoſe care I leave you, without any other *Complement*, Then that *the loſſe will not be great to the buyer, nor the ſhame much to me*, ſhould they prove *waſte paper*, as I ever till now eſteemed them. And in anſwer to thoſe ſhall think ſome expreſſions here too *ſerious* to face ſuch *ſtuffe* as comes *after*, they may be pleaſed to know I did at firſt *intend* to *inſert* ſome *notions* which *diſcretion* hath ſince thought *inconvenient*.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE PROEM.

IF, *contrary to the* Mode *of ſuch as* loſe *their Thoughts in the* open Aire *where they were* conceived; *I have, with more* Diligence, *regeſtred* Mine; *it was out of no* Opinion *they deſerve a* longer life, *but to prevent* Idleneſs, *with a Concourſe of ſome more* Tedious, *if not* Sinful: *which in the* Vacancy *of* Imployment, *are apt to* intrude *themſelves, under pretence of a more* ancient *and* Familiar Acquaintance. *Nor can I yet find Cauſe, to repent of the paynes,*

Since it hath confirm'd me, in this Truth; That the World *is not the* worſe, *nor* My ſelf *much* better, *for* Age *and* Continuance. *From whence I have learned,* (*though I confeſs, none more apt to Forget*) Not to Complain *of* Governours, *for their* Oppreſſion, *or* upbraid Youth, *with its* Vices: *Since in the* beſt *Times*, Tyranny *hath been moderated, rather through* Fear, *then* Goodneſs. *And the moſt ſeemingly*-Holy, *do, at the higheſt, but* palliate, *not* Diveſt *their Humane* Infirmity. *And from hence we may be taught with St.* Peter, *Not to call any thing* Polluted *or* Defiled. *All Men, at* long-running, *meeting with the ſame* Market, *either in reference to their own* Depraved Will, *or* Performance. *Wherefore, I ſhould Conclude,* (*conſidering* My own, *and* Others *viſible* Lapſes) *That* Sanctity *lies more in* Repentance, *then* Innocency. *Which is the Chief* Advan-

tage

tage, *if not all the* Difference *diſcernable, between Thoſe we terme* Wicked, *and the* Juſt. *Now if any One (a Thing I have formerly been very chary of) ſhall read* Theſe Papers, *under the Notion of* Approbation; *He can no more make* Me *Proud, then ſuch as* Diſpraiſe *them*, Angry: (*It being the guiſe of* All, *to* applaud Thoſe *of* Their own Opinion:) *Of which there is none more* Mine, *then that every Thing is of a* Mixed Nature, *carrying a* Face *like* That *in a* pleated Picture, *ſuitable to the* Situation *and* Light *the* Beholder ſtands in, *or is* guided by.

*And in reference to one-*over-Severe, *I may have this to ſay, That not a few, now* Wiſer *then us both, have pleaſed Themſelves, as much, in* Drawing Anticks, *with a* Coal, *upon a* Wall, *as Others do in their endeavours, to match* Apelles. *All I ſeek, is to find Imployment for a Spirit that*

would Break the Veſſel, *had it nothing to* Work *upon*, *but it* Self. *Nor is it leſs true, That I might juſtly be* blamed *for* Some things *here, Had more Time been employed about them, then God in his* Mercy, *or to* puniſh *my Former* Negligence, *hath afforded me Liberty to ſpare. Who can be accountable to* Poſterity, *for nothing in this kind: being from my* Birth, *uncapable to receive the Rich* Talent *of* Learning, *look'd upon, as* The onely Key *of* Knowledge: *which if obtayned, had been Little Advantage, ſince I want a* Memory, *wherein to* Hoord *up what I had* ſtollen. *And ſo the* Acquired Groat, *might not unpoſſibly have* ſpoiled, *and* adulterated *the more* Natural Shilling. *Wherefore, if a* Chymiſtry *might be found, able to* Extract *any thing uſeful toward the* Conduct *of* Man, *out of ſuch* Ordinary Simples *as* Theſe, *They were* highly to be eſteemed;

ſteemed; *And in likelyhood*, more ſuteable *to every* Taſt, *as* Freſh-gathered *from the* Tree *of* Experience, *then thoſe* Sophiſticated *by the* Schools, *or of a* Narrower intereſt, *then* That, *of* The whole Society of Man.

And, if any draw benefit from Theſe, *they are moſt likely to be* Friends: *It being onely the* property *of* Love, *to look upon that with* Delight, *which cannot be* diſcovered *to another without* Shame. *And to ſuch I could be content, to leave them, as the* Idea *of a* Mind *was no leſs Cordially imploy'd, in advancing the* Good *of* Others, *then of my* Patience, *in receiving* Injuries *from the* ſame *hands. This is not ſaid to wound* Providence, *under the Shadow of* Fortune. *Since I have hitherto not onely been bleſt, beyond my* Deſert, *but* Expectation. *And have ſeen my* unnatural Oppreſſours *periſh, and languiſh, through as*

Miraculous *means*, *as I have been* Preserved. *And by which*, *I am brought to the* Contemplation *of* higher, *and more* permanent Pleasures, *then* the poor and despicable Consideration *of* Profit *is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the* World, *to whose* Judgement, *I was for a long time not so* Impudent, *or* Imprudent, *as to present more of my Self*, *then I must needs*; *Because*, Experience *still finds* Her *in the Arms of* Curiosity, *and* Prejudice. *Into whose* Den, *though I have been of late cast*, (*by* what Hand *of* Fate *I know not*, *and so as it were* Blindfold;) *yet I have* come off *with more* Favour, *from before this* Tyrannical Tribunal, *then divers known of far greater* Desert.

Nor should I but for a through Essay of my own *Fortune*, *and the Readers* Candor, *venture such* Stuff *as is likely*

likely to Follow. *Which though produced long ſince, I am not able to* Better now. *And if Capable of* Acceptance, *the* World *is not likely to want it,*

But it is contrary to my own Aphoriſme, *to* deboſh *what I preſent, by ſaying it was* writ *before I was* Twenty : *From whence would reſult, ſuch an eaſie* Inference, *That ſurely, I am* no Wiſer now, (*which I wiſh heartily I were able to confute*) *elſe I ſhould* Mend, *or* Conceal *them. Nor can I think it* Wiſdom, *or* Convenience, *to ſay*, They were produced in a ſhorter ſpace, then Nature requires in the production of Rarities ; *Though not ſeldome* Caſual ; (*As I obſerved in a* Flint, *preſented to King* Charles, *that bore the perfect* Figure *of a* Man.) *It being the Cuſtom of ſome* Heads, *to afford the* greater Reaſon, *the* leſs *they are* pumped. *Such as is* Cleareſt, *running com-*

monly quickeſt, *and moſt* Fluent; *whereas, the* Deeper *requires* Straining, *and ſo becomes* Heavyer, *and of a* leſſe ſprightful Taſt. *I will not ſay,* Mine *is of that* Temper, *to avoyd* Prejudice. *Nothing being* held in eſteeme, *is* eaſily *come by. Wherefore, having found ſo many* condemned, *upon th:* Evidence *they bring againſt* Themſelves *in* Print, *I have laboured to* conceal my Name; *eſteeming it more* Pleaſant (*if not more* Naturall) *to* beget *then* father. *But finding it, as* impoſſible *to hide, as it is* unſutable *to my preſent Condition to be* idle, *and no leſſe then* unbecoming Civility, *to neglect the* Importunity *of ſuch* Friends, *as deſire a* Publication *of* this Piece, (*which being a* mixture *of* all things, *may not improbably, like the* huge Diſhes *now in* faſhion, *feaſt the Appetites of ſome* one, *or* other) *I ſhall once again venture into the* Preſſe, (*as*

too

too many *do*) *more out of* Confidence *then* Wit. *Yet, let my* Defects *be what they will, I have ever conſidered it as a* Flatulent Impertinency, *to* Court *the* Reader; *or think to raiſe a* Party, *in the behalf of any thing*, weares *not the* indubitable Character *of* Reaſon *and* Truth. *Againſt which*, Ignorance *and* Hypocriſie *have maintained ſo long and unnaturall a* Rebellion, *as* Security *is no other way attainable, but by* Silence, *or* Complyance. *The continuall* Wraſtlings *againſt a* Rationall Evidence, *having brought the* World *into ſo* mutilated, *and* unſteady *a* Creede, *as in many* Places, *ſhe is obſerved to halt, between the* uneaſie wayes *of* Hope *and* Feare. *The Contemplation of which, doth ſo ſtagger ſuch as delight in* Painting *their* Opinions *upon* Paper, *that they know not what* ſide *to take, out of a* Dread *to fall under the* Notion *of* Traytors *or* Ma-

lignants, Atheiſts *or* Fools. *And amongſt others, this may paſſe for a* Cauſe, *why* theſe *(formerly looked upon as waſt)* Sheets, *have received this* Reſurrection *out of the* Duſt; *It being in* ill Times, *ſafer to appear* wanton, *then* ſerious. *Or like* Brutus, *a* Foole, *then a* Cenſor. *Of what is* in me, *I make as* good uſe *as I can, but* hate *to borrow any thing; being more willing to appear, with all my* Defects *about me, then* Glorious, *and* Splendid, *through the* Spoiles *of* others. *Under the ſame* Odium, *(in my Conceit,) lyes a* Supercilious Gravity; *by which I ſhould interrupt all* Commerce *with thoſe of my* own Coat; *And expoſe* my Selfe *to the* Judgement *of ſome* more wiſe, *who cannot but ſee through that* unnaturall Vayle, *the* poorneſs *of the* Traſh *is carried* under it: *There being, really, no* nakedneſs, *but in relation to* others, *ſince all have the* Patience

tience *to look upon their* own Imperfections, *without* bluſhing. *Which the* oftner *it is done*, *the* better *may be* learned, *How to* prize others, *and* value our Selves. *There appearing, no way readier, to demonſtrate to a Man his particular weakneſs, then by admitting him full leave to* try his ſtrength. *Wherefore, ſo long as no body* ſaw me, *I was not capable of blame*, *If wanting the Engines of* Learning, *I endeavoured, to ſhake the* Pillars *of the* Schooles. *For though the* Attempt, *is not very likely, to afford any* Benefit to others; *yet, I cannot but remain, the* ſtronger *for it, and the more agile* My Selfe: *As ſuch do, that* ſwing; *though the* Beame *ſtirrs not, at which they* tugge, *It being natural to* honeſt Labour, *ſtill to be followed, by* Wiſdom *or* Reward. *For, though the Generality of Readers, are ſcandalized at all is not* mouldy *through* Age, *or* guilded *with* Novelty;

ty; *yet, I remember, to have heard from Sir* William Cornewallis, *(esteemed* none of the *meaneſt* Witts, *in his* Time) *That* Mountaign's Eſſay's, *was the likelyeſt Book, to advance* Wiſdom: *becauſe, The* Authours own *Experiences, is the* Chieteſt Argument *in it. For as* St. Auguſtine *ſaith, of* Short *and* Holy Ejaculations; That they pierce Heaven *as* ſoon, *if not* quicker, *then more* Tedious Prayers: *So, I have reaped greater* Benefit, *from conciſe and* Caſuall Meditations, *on ſeverall* Topicks, *then* long *and* voluminous Treatiſes, *relating meerly to one and the* ſame thing: *Many* Scholars *being of ſo vaſt an* Extenſion, *in the proſecution of any, (though but a* ſeeming) Errour, *as they will leave no* Argument *unurged, be it never ſo* weake. *Forgetting, That a* Triumph *is eaſier obtained, then a* Victory *ſo* Diſcreetly moderated, *as may give*

no

no occaſion, to think it either Tedious, *or* over-ſevere. *It being a work, impertinently ſuperfluous, to give* two Blowes, *where* one *may ſuffice. This is the Cauſe, That only ſuch are eſteemed, that* bring *the* ſtrongeſt Reaſons, *and commit the* ſmalleſt waſte *upon the* Readers *Time, or the* Adverſaries *Repute. Nor are any to be Commended, as* Civill, *or* Wiſe, *that proſecute a Contrary Practiſe: Too frequent amongſt us, where the* Abuſe *of the* Perſon, *is* Clinched, *and* Riveted *ſo* cloſe, *with the* Confutation, *as unqueſtioned* Charity *is not ſeldom* loſt, *in the* vindication *of a more* Dubious Truth. *And from hence, I have taken occaſion, to* Calculate *the* Meridian, *of ſuch* Hot Heads, *as can ſuffer no* Opinions *but* Their own, *to ſtand quietly by them. Forgetting,* There *is as* much variety, *in the* Diſſemblances *of* Mens Mindes, *as* Experience *and* Com-

merce

merce *do observe, in their* Bodies. *Which may conclude it, as great* Folly, *to* condemn one *of a* contrary Judgement, *as to* Implead *another, because his* Nose *is* shorter, *or* longer, *then* Theirs. *Nor is it in the* Reach *of any thing but* Restraint, *to make People* unanimous. *No lesse, against the* Freedom *of* Nature, *then it is sutable to* Custom, *and* Experience, *to finde the Contrary in* Practice, *where* all *are left to their* Own Election. *As manifest in* Wise Greece *&* Rome, *as in those* Nations, *esteemed both by* Them *&* Us *more* Barbarous. *Nor can it but be reckoned amongst the* Causes *of the* Catholicks Unity, *That* every one, *may* addresse their Prayers, *to what* Saint *they please.*--- *Now to* vindicate *my* Selfe *from* their Folly, Esteeme *the* Foulest *of their* Writings *a fit* Copy *for the* World, *whose* Heads ake *like* Jupiters, *till delivered of those* Palla's: *though so*

Flat

Flat *and* Deformed, *as if conceived* in their Thumbs.

I may ſafely *ſay, That* heretofore, (*However it is with me* now, *grown perhaps through* Cuſtom *more* Impudent) I was not ambitious to appeare in publick: *Since ſome of my* Acquaintance *can atteſt, That divers pieces*, of late publiſhed, *were* long agoe *as* Compleate, *as ever I have been able to make them ſince. The* Firſt Cauſe *of their projection, being rather, for the* intent *to* While *my Selfe, then* Buſie *others. Nor ſhall I proſecute this* Trade, *longer then it continues* acceptable *to the* Generality, *and* Beneficiall *to the* Stationer. *Whoſe Operation, hath been more Effectuall, in this* Midwifrey, *then any* Delight *I can take, in finding* my *Selfe* rated, *according to the* Value *of* every Judgement: *commonly* Foreſtalled *by* Opinion, *a farre neerer* Friend *to things of this Nature, then the* Higheſt Deſert. *As*

At the Foot of whose Tribunall, *I ſhould never have fallen, but to* redeem *the* World *out of a* Common Errour, *by ſhewing*, Men *are not ſo* unhappy *in the* Abſence of Learning, *as* Scholars *pretend.* — *Whoſe* Firſt *Queſtion is*, What Univerſity you are of? *And their* Laſt, *if anſwered*, None: *For then, they conſider the* Party *as* irrationall, *and* below Converſation. *Forgetting, That though* Books *may produce a few* rough Materialls; *it is only in the power of* Experience, *and* Naturall Parts *to Build up and* Burniſh *a* Perfect Man.

ESSAY

On ſuch as Condemn All they underſtand not a Reaſon for.

THeir Preſumption is no leſſe *uncivill*, then *Prodigious*, That having nothing elſe to warrant them, but a Pettiſh and Solitary *Opinion* of their *own*, will undertake, to *arraigne*, the *Truth* of all they cannot *apprehend*, or is not quite *arrived* within the *Perfect Cognizance* of *their Reaſon*. And by this *Impudence*, do not only, *proclaim* themſelves *Fudges* of the preſent

ſent *underſtandings*; but preſent, the ſcanty *meaſure* of *their own*, as an *unqueſtionable Standard*, for *all* may ſucceed. Forgetting, to what baſe *Offices* they have put ſuch *Conceits*, and *Reſults* to, upon a more *ſerious Conſideration*; which at their *firſt Conception*, they eſteemed *Authentick*, and not *misbecoming* the *Cabinet* of a *Prince*. And if thus Capable of *Deceit* from *Themſelves*; What *Security* are they able to give for the *Spurious Cenſures* they paſſe upon *Others*, that one day they ſhall not be taken off from *Wiſdom's File*, and ſome *more True* and *Honourable* placed in their *room*, to the *Eternall Infamy* of ſuch, as are *ſcandalized* at any thing, formerly, a *Stranger* in the *Schools*? Nor is this *Humor* the Continent of a leſſe *Malignity*, then what hath been *Capable* heretofore, (Nor is it leſſe *buſie now*) to *obſtruct*, and *Diſcou-*

rage

rage all farther *proſecution* after *Knowledg*, by *branding Reaſon* with an *Imputation* of *Atheiſm*: and *Hanging* what they *underſtand not*, under the *Notion* of *Witchcraft*; as *Foſter*, a Country-*Parſon*, did the *Weapon-Salve*: Againſt which, he Conjured up not onely the *Fathers*, *Schoolmen*, &c. but (ſo far as his *Weak Talent* could extend) did ſuborne *Philoſophy* to *atteſt* againſt *Her Self*. Nor had this *mad Duel* between *Him*, and Dr. *LLoyde*, (who being both of no great *ſtrength* did weaken the *Nations* repute abroad) been *parted*, but That *Authority* (to vindicate the *uſual cure* of the *Kings Evil* from being an *Operation* of the *Divel*) did ſtep in betwixt Them. The *Firſt*, gaining the *Opinion* of as *High* an *Impudence*, for *Beginning*; as the *Other*, did of *Folly*, for *maintaining* ſo *impertinent* a *Quarrel*.

It was the *Cuſtom* of King *James*, (and

(and no question, of no small *Improvement* to his *Understanding*) to *Discourse* during *Meals*, with the *Chaplain* that said *Grace*, (or *Other Divines*) Concerning some point of *Controversie* in *Philosophy*. And falling one Day upon *Atheism*, He did by undenyable Arguments maintain, *No Man could be found so Irrational, as to deny a First Cause*: (which could be no other then that *Power* we call *God*.) And *Therefore, no such thing in Nature*, as an *Atheist*.

What his Judgement was of *Witchcraft*, you may, in part, find by His *Treatise* on that *Subject*, and *Charge* he gave the *Judges*, to be *Circumspect* in Condemning those, Committed by *Ignorant Justices*, for *Diabolical Compacts*. Nor had he Concluded his *Advice* in a *Narrower Circle*, (as I have heard) Then the *Denyal* of any *such operations*, but out of *Reason* of *State*: and to gra-

gratifie the *Church*, which hath in *no Age*, thought fit to explode out of the *Common-peoples* minds, An Apprehenſion of *Witchcraft*. The greateſt *Miracles*, now extant, making their *Apparitions*, in the *Dark Corners* of this *clouded Imagination*. Into whoſe *Cauſe* I ſhall not preſume further to peep; as eſteeming it more *Dangerous* then *Terrible*. Yet, for the better *Vindication* of ſuch *Innocents*, as are daily obſerved, to paſs out of this *Back-gate of Injuſtice*, to *another World*, (Whoſe *Poſterns* are the *Ignorance* of *Judges*, and *Folly* of our *Lawes*) I will here relate a *Story* of my *own Knowledge*, which if too Weak to refel this *Common Errour*, cannot be diveſted of Strength enough, to perſwade more *Diſcretion*, and *Charity*, then is ordinarily imployed, in the *Tryal* of ſuch *poor Creatures*, That are *firſt* made *mad*, as *Solomon* ſaith, through

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Poverty, and *Affliction*; and *After Hanged*, for being no *better adviſed*, then to *Confeſs* what they *never did*, or any *Fleſh* and *Blood* was ever *able to do.*

Sir *Humphry Winch*, (none of the leaſt *Honeſt*, and *Conſcientious Itinerant Judges* of his Time,) was in the *Northern Circuit* preſented with this *Evidence*, againſt Three *Silly* Women, *That they had out of propenſe Malice, not onely bewitched divers Cattle, and Children to Death.* But the *principal Cauſe* of their *Commitment*, aroſe from the *Son of a Gentleman*, that was ſuppoſed to have *layn divers Moneths* under their *Faſcination*; who at certain Times, would *Contract* his whole Body, within the Compaſs of a *Joyn'd-ſtool*, and write in *Hebrew* and *Greek Characters*, though not knownto be *skilled* in thoſe *tongues*. That a *Spirit* came then into him

him, ſent by *theſe poor Wretches*, by which he was ſo *Tormented*, as he did, in his *Fits*, *foame* at the *Mouth*. Nor was there a greater, and more probable *Evidence* wanting; For, that *Night* the Judges entred the Town, One of the *Witches*, did privately deſire the *Jaylour*, to bring Her into a room *by her Self*, where without any Compulſion, (a thing not omitted by our *Witch-Finders*) She told Him, ſhe uſed a *Familiar*, together with the *Reſt*; And that they had joyned to *bewitch* the ſaid *Boy*; but did humbly beſeech Him, her *Fellows* might not know it, nor ſhe be returned to the ſame *lodging*, for fear, *They ſhould torment Her*: And within few Hours dyed. Now upon the *Keepers Evidence*, and others of like Nature, the *Two* were found *guilty*, and *Condemned* to be *Hang'd*. But under this *Proviſo*, That in Caſe they continued

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obstinate in the *Denyal* of the *Fact*, The *Sheriff* should remand them back, where they were to live, till the *Progress*, which was to be *Northward*, that Summer. The *King* being *gratified* by nothing more, then an *Opportunity* to shew his *Dexterity* in *Discovering* an *Imposture*, (at which, I must confess Him, The *Prompteſt* Man *Living*) upon his Arrival convented *The Boy*. Where, before *Him*, (possibly daunted at his *Presence*, or *Terrified* by his *Words*) he began to faulter, so as *The King* discover'd a *Fallacy*. And did for a further *Confirmation*, send him to *Lambeth*; where the *Servants* of *George Abbot*, did in a few Weeks, discover the Whole *Deceit*. And He was sent back to his Majesty, before the end of the *Progress*. Where upon a Small Entreaty, He would repeat all his *Tricks* oftentimes in a *Day*. Nor did He *do and*

suffer

suffer all this, for a more *Serious* Cause, *Then to prevent a present Whipping*, and avoyd going to *School.* Amongst other *Pranckes*, he lived in an *Orchard* a Week, upon *Apples* onely.

I shall make no *Paraphrase*, nor pursue the Argument further, to avoyd *Prolixity*, no less, then *Offence.* The *Doctrine* of such &c. Being a *Diana*, out of Which, no small *Profit* is made, and *Credit* purchased, in reference to *Opinions*, otherwise *Ridiculous*, and *Untenable.*

Give me neither Poverty nor Riches,
Prov. 8. 30.

From this *Wise Kings Prayer*, we may *Learn* the *Danger* that resides, in these two *Gulphs*, *Poverty* and *Riches.* The *Latter*, *alluring* no less to *Pride*, then the *First tempts*, if not *Compels* towards *Atheism*, and

Infidelity. Both gathering Strength and Aggravation, from the *Complexion*, and *Education* of the *Patient*; So as if *Abundance* proves the *Lot* of a *Mean Birth*; and *Want*, the *Companion* of one bred in *Plenty* and *Eminency*; it *elevates* the *First*, as far *above* the *Sphere* of *Moderation*, as it *depresses* the *Other*, *below* the *Centre* of *Patience*. *Pride despising* Gods power, no less then *Poverty distrusts* it. For as a perfect and Harmonious *Joy* comes neerest to that *pleasure* and *Content*, assured in *Heaven*: So *Anxiety* and *Discontent* are a representation of *Hell*. *Melancholly* being the *worst* of *Humours*, because the *Devils*; (if he may be thought, to participate of any) who *apprehends* all ill about Him, and cannot but despair of better. Wherefore *Poverty* must be allowed *the most dangerous Condition*, because infested with all those

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prodigious Effects, this *Diabolicall Passion* is lyable to produce. *Which* are, in a manner, *all* we do in this *World*, either *Punish*, or *Admire*: *Sin* being a *Result* of *Want*; from whence it becomes so *far* more *Illegal*, then *Unnatural*, as S. *Paul* owns the *Law*, for the most *Manifest Original*, and exactest *measure* of his *prevarications*.

I know *Abundance* hath been by *Good men*, prized below *Want*, when offered to be made the *Wages* of *Iniquity*; though *None* besides *Our Saviour*, was ever found, able to *grapple* with the *Enemy* of *Mankind* being *Hungry* and in *Want*, as *He* was in the *Wilderness*. Which remains none of the Weakest *Effects*, left us, of his *Divinity*: And rather inserted, as a *Mark* of his own *Power*, then an *Example* for our *Imitation*. Yet such *Monastical persons*, as endeavour to come neerest to it,

have enough to *Satisfie*, though possibly, not to *pamper Nature*. The *Name* of *Voluntary Hope of Merit* and the *Worldly Respect* it brings bearing *most* of the *Charges* belonging to it. Nor have they *Wives* and *Children*, which *looked through* do like *Opticks*, *multiply* the *Bulk* of *Want*.

When *Others* (*not wilfully*) Sick of this *Loathsom Plague*, as if it were *Infectious*, are not onely *Forsaken* of *All*, but exposed to the *Tyranny* of *Every Hand* desires to oppress them. *Law* it Self, (a *Friend* to all else) being so heavy an *Enemy* to the *poor Beggar*, as it seeks to *Discharge* the *Common wealth* of *Them* with no less industry, then the *Physitian*, doth the *Body* of man, from *Humours putrid and noxious* to its *Health*. I know *Some* make a *Trade* of *Want*; and by it, are able to live not one'y *Idly*, but in an *Unbridled*

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Luxury; Whereas, *Those* here meant, *Consume their Bodies*, by *Labour*, or which is more *Painful*, in the *Study* of the *Mind*; yet cannot obtain so much, as to purchase *bread* sufficient, to *stop the Mouths of their Family, from Barking at Heaven*, and *tearing God under the Vail of Fortune, for pouring upon others, without Limitation, what is denyed to them in the Meanest Proportion*. Indeed the *Ancient Stoicks*, no less, then the more *Modern Divines* have, and do still continue their endeavours, to *vindicate* this *unequal Distribution* from the *tincture of Partiality*; but have in my mind, left it more *Ambiguous*. Onely our *Saviour* in his *Answer* penned for *Dives*, seems no less then in other Places of his Gospel) to assign *Heaven*, meerly for an *Inheritance*, to such, as *Want here*; and *Hell* for *Those* that *abound*: As he that marks the Words, can-

not but imagine, Nor dare I apply the *Figure* of *Hyperbole*, to any *Saying* of *His*. Which exactly weighed, is but a *Salvo* for a *Mistake*, An *Indefinite Number* or *Quantity*, suiting better the *Mouth* of an *Ignorant Man*, then the *Immense Knowledg* of our *Blessed Redeemer*. Wherefore (under the *Correction* of a *more perfect Light*) I think the *Simile* of a *Camel*, (or *Cable*) and the *Eye* of a *Needle* *justly and Mathematically* proportioned, to the *Salvation* of a *Rich man*, who is *uncapable* of it, without a more *Miraculous Extension* of the *Mercy* of our *Maker*, then is by *Himself* best known to Suffice such, as in this *World*, have not enjoy'd so much *Plenty*.

And, That an *Observation* of the *Law* is not *Enough*, seems to appear, by *Christs* bidding *Him* that had *Done* it, To *Sell All that he Had* &c. as the *thing most acceptable* to *God*. Where-

Wherefore I could wish, That this *Tithing* the *Mint* and *Cummin* of *Others Errours* and *Opinions*, were not so *nicely* performed, and *Charity* with her *Concomitance Probity* (the *Whole performance* of the *Commandements*) so *quite* neglected. Which no doubt, is the great *Occasion of so much Indigence*, as may be observed *now*; and so *Contrary* to *That* in *Christs Time*, as it rather *hinders*, then *Facilitates*, the *Wayes* to *Heaven*: So as it appears, That the *Devil* himself had never experimented so much *power* in any Person, as was able to resist the *Temptation* of *Misery and Want*, till he met with *Job*. Which gave him the boldness to *wager* (as it were) with God, *That* in case, he removed the *Hedge*, his Love had placed about him, He would *Curse* him to his Face.

Wherefore, it cannot be estee-

med, a *slight provocation* was the *Greatest*, *Mans Enemy* could invent. Had he onely touched his *Health*, the Means of *Recovery* might have remayned: But his *Livelyhood* being loſt, nothing continued, but *Lean Patience*; far too weak wholly to ward *this* Blow, though it may diſſemble the taking it, or Cover the *Wound* for a Seaſon.

It is no leſs *Wholeſome* then *Decent*, to travel on Foot, with a *Horſe* in thy *Hand*; but to the *Deſtitute* of a like eaſe, *Tedious*. Wherefore *Seneca* may make *Demonſtration* of *Wit*, and *preſcribe Rules*, for the more quiet enduring of *Penury*, but deſerves the leſs Credit, becauſe *writ at a time*, when *himſelf* had occaſion to uſe more *Moderation*, then *Patience*; Which makes me believe, his Mind (together with the reſt of the *Puritanical Stoicks*) was far *averſe* from their *Doctrine*; ſince a

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decent Frugality out of the Society of a more *Sordid Covetousness*, could not have *accumulated* so *immense* a *Treasure*, as *Tacitus* reports, was found about *Him*. Yet Concludes his *Documents*, with a *Peremptory Advise*, rather *to Die*, then abide in so *little Ease*, as this, and far less *intollerable Earthly Inconveniences* are observed to bring with them. Which indeed were more to the purpose, Could *Christianity* make use of this his *last Receipt*: Who is prescribed by her *Institutes*, to *Tide* it out, although the *Stream* of its *Inconveniences runs* never so strong against the Nature of Man. So as if *God* had set any *lower precipice*, at the *Bottom* of the *Leap*, then *Eternal Damnation*, I think none so *pusillanimous*, as would not rather *once* take it, then to remain *still* under the *Weight*, of so *heavy* and *unsociable* a *Calamity*, that produceth all

things *Hurtful* or *Hateful* to *Nature*. For when *God* mans-out his *Hosts*, the *Poor* are found in the *Forlorne Hope*; and *Famine* takes up her *Head-Quarters* under *Their Roof*. Nor doth the *Pestilence* find a more Convenient place, to hatch her *Malignities* in, then the *Bosom* of the *Indigent*. And when the *Sword* is so *Noble*, as to spare *him*, it is not so much out of *Mercy* as *Contempt*. He being *in this* onely *Happy*, That his *Condition* is not in a *capacity* to become *worse*, no more then in any great *probability* of *Amendment*; Since in a general *Felicity*, he only is *unhappy*. Because *Want* renders her *Owners* uncapable of *Trust*, By creating *Suspicion*, before any *Fault* is Committed: For where *Necessity* abounds, there *Theft* and *Deceit* are supposed, as an *Infallible Consequence*. When a *Felony*, or *Murther* is committed, the next *Poor Houses*

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are ordinarily searched. *Where the lesse is found of their own*, the *greater* Suspicion is conceived of *what* belongs *to others*. And so *Loathsom* is a *Beggar* esteemed; as *he* that is so *Charitable* as to make him *Drink*, is yet, thus *uncivil* towards *Him*, as to *shut the Door*, and *wash* the Cup after *Him*; as if it were impossible for a *Person* in *want*, either to be *True* or *Wholsom*. Being shunned of the *Herd*, as *one struck* by the severest *arrow* of his *Makers vengeance*; and left nothing to accompany him, but *Misery*.--Yet none may possibly apprehend him so *wretched*, as *He thinks Himself*. Being for the most part, deprived not only of *Terrestriall*, but *Future Comforts*. For if *Conscious* of *Ill*, (as what meanes hath he of living by, or doing any thing else but *Evill*?) through *Death* (the only way to lead him out of his *transitory Misery*) he apprehends *one*

prepared

prepared for him that is *Eternall*. The *Indigent* person like the *flying Fish*, being not only persecuted in his *Own Element*, by those more *Mighty*; But upon *leaving* it, falls into their *terrible Clawes*, to whom is assigned the *Dominion* of the Ayr. This *Crosse* having wrought so strongly with some *Complexions*, as to *purge* away all *Belief of Providence*, and revive that *Old damnable Opinion*, of a *Double Nature* in *God*. Now though our *Blessed Saviour* is not found *above twice*, to *sustain* his *Followers* a *miraculous way*, and that in the *Desart*, where *Nature* failed; yet, by making the *Rich* to *divide* with the *Poore*, he supplyed that Defect, this *uneven-Distribution* occasions in the *World*. And, that no small *stress* of *Christian Wisdom* lay in it, may seem to appear, in the *severer Punishment* inflicted by S. *Peter* (in many places styled the *Prince* of

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The Apoſtles) upon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, then ever was *obſerved* to attend ſuch, as *whipped*, *ſtoned*, and *perſecuted Chriſt*; not onely in his *own* perſon, but *that of his* Followers. Wherefore, *if thoſe* thus *ſet upon*, do daily fall into *Heterodox* Opinions, or are, not ſeldom obſerved, To *hang* up their *Sheild* of *Faith*, in the *Temple* of *Deſpair*; and Convert the Study of *unrewarded Vertue*, into the more *Thriving Opportunities*, *Deceit* affords: they ought to receive *pitty from us*, becauſe lyable to the like *Lapſes* our *Selves*, who through *Exceſs* are found to *rob* the *Poor*, more then *Neceſſity* dares do the *Rich*, out of *Feare* of the *Iron-teeth* of the *Law*; in *all Nations* farre more *ſevere*, then *thoſe* of *Chriſt*. Who, by not reproving his *Diſciples* for *Taking the Eares of Corn*, gives the *Hungry Belly* a *Larger Charter*, in the enjoyment of *Earthly Bleſ-*

ſings,

sings, then the *Tyranny* of *Power* is willing to subscribe; it being no small *Augmentation* of the *Needy's Misery*, and one of the greatest torments in Hell, to see *All Plenty about* Him, and *want within*. To Conclude, all further *Discourse*, on this *Tragicall Calamity*, I shall say, (but not peremptorily) If *Sampson* found Mercy that destroyed *Himselfe*, for the *Gratification* of his *Revenge*; what reason is there, in denying it to These, upon the *Greater Provocation of want*?

A Contemplation on Adams *Fall.*

SUch as think *Gods* first Injunction *Trivial*, in prohibiting *Adam*, to eat of the *Forbidden Fruit*; and the *Temptation* to break this

this *Commandement*, *easie* to be avoided, Do not Consider, that *Man* in his *Innocency*, had no use of any *External* thing, but *Meat*: nor other *Capacity* of improving his *Intellects*, save in *Knowledge*. A *Desire*, so *diffused* throughout the whole *Masse* of *Humanity*, that such as are too weak to apprehend *Reason* of *State*, will pry into the *Causes* of their *Land-Lords-Actions*; or, that failing, raise *Tumults*, amongst *Themselves*, by a too neare inspection, and *Revelation* of the *Newes* of each others *Miscarriages*. And this *being* the most universall *Humour now*, may render it more probable to *Have been* the *same* did accompany *Man* at the *First*: *Nature* remaining *Depraved*, not *Eradicated*. Wherefore this *Prohibition*, was placed, according to *Prudence*, upon that *Side*, our *Parents* were *weakest* on; and so, more fit to *receive* a

Caution,

Caution. For, had *God* forbidden them *Theft*, or *Murther*, they could not have apprehended his *Meaning*: Nothing but *Will corrupted* by *Paſſion*, being able to bring forth, ſuch *uncooth Sins* into *Action*, which having once fallen, within the Compaſſe of *Experience*, They, *by Conſequence*, came within the *Notion* of *Knowledge*, nothing being yet preſented to their *Imaginations*, but what was already arrived within the Circuit of their *Senſes*. The *Firſt Man* appearing *to me*, no better furniſhed with *Knowledge*, then an *Infant* in his *Primitive Innocency*; but That, his *Organs* being made Perfect, he was Capable to apprehend all things, with the ſame *Dexterity*, his *Senſes* were able to feed his *Fancy*: In which they might take ſo much *Pleaſure*, (ſince *Nothing* is more *Taſtfull* to *Humanity*, then *Underſtanding*) That to make, this

Spring

Spring of *Knowledge* more fluent, he swallowed the *Apple*, the *Fountain* of his *Infelicity*; which instead of gratifying h's *Taste* and *Desire*, depraved both. If he gave *Names* to the *Creatures*, suitable to the *Sinfull Use*, was after to be made of them, He did not only *Prophesie Their* future *misery*, but *His own:* And *if foreseen*, why did he not *prevent* it? Wherefore the *Fault* must ly, either upon his *Ignorance*, or *Will*. For till his *Fall*, he seemes, to have as little *need*, of the *Elephant's* Docility, or the *Oxes* Industry, as it is improbable, but that *They* were both made for *Imployment:* which had been *quite lost*, together with all *the Trades*, the *Blessing* [of *Encrease and Multiply*] is sustained by; had not *Adam* fallen from his *Originall Integrity*. This makes me wonder, to finde *Eve* willing, or at *leasure*, to *Chat* and *Gossip* it with the *Serpent*;

the

the most remote in Symmetry, from her own glorious *Form*, if not in *Nature*, from her *Temper* and *Complexion*; Especially, having so much the more *Excellent* and adapted *Companion*, as her *Husband* neere her to *Converse with*. Which might give Credit to their *Opinion*, That the *Fall* was *long after* the *Transgression*: but that the *Impossibility* of her *Conceiving* a *Contaminated Issue*, whilest *pure* in *Themselves* offers more then a probable *Confutation*. It not being likely, *they* should *Forget*, for any *Considerable time*, to neglect one of their principall *Errands*, which lay, in performing the *Blessing*, of *Diffusing* his *Like*: The most *Rationall Cause* such can produce, as attribute their *Prevarication*, to an *Excesse* in *Concupiscence*; through which, the *Tree* growing in the midst of the *Garden*, became *Contaminated*. But to *Bury* this

Con-

Conjecture, (no lesse, then the Opinion of *Josephus*, "*That the Ser-*"*pent had, together with all Creatures*"*else, before the Fall, an Articulate*"*voyce*) in the more certain *Relation* of *Moses*; (though in nothing more *Concise*, and *Abstruse*, then about the Beginning; not unpossibly, That he might preserve *Truth*, at the least prejudice to *Tradition*, in the *Preservation* of which, the *People of God*, were *extreame*, if not Superstitiously Tender.) I shall modestly *propose*, That if the *Serpent*, was really *active*, in the *seducing* of *Man*: (as may seem to appear, by the *Curse* layd upon him no lesse *Diffusive*, in reference to *this World*, then Ours, it reaching the *whole Species*; observed at this Day, to *Crawle* upon the *Ground*) Whether we may not inferre, That this *now-Despicable-Creature*, was the *First* that went about to infringe the *Ordinance* of

God:

God: Since those that make the *Serpent*, only *Instrumentall*, to the *Devils Activity*, Borrow it, from *Conjecture*, not *Reason*, which was never observ'd to punish the *Sword*; but the *Hand* that did *manage* it to *Destruction*. Wherefore, if it was the *Devils Sin*, nothing but the *Serpents Consent* in making it selfe Instrumentall, could procure a *Punishment*: No more then to the *Winds* that through his incitation, destroyed the Children of *Job*. Which put together, may *crowd* a roome for this *Conjecture*, That the *Devill possessed* the *Serpent* with *Envy First*, at so *glorious* a *Creature* as *Man* was: And After, gained its Consent, to be *Instrumentall* in our *Destruction*, and so a *Cooperator with Satan*, and a *Fellow* in his *Sin*. For if it be thought unpossible, the *Serpent* should do so ungratefull a Service, to *Humane Nature*, upon *its own* Instigation, it ap-

appears as unreaſonable, why it ſhould bear all the *Penalty*; The *Divel* having augmented, if not *Begun*, his *Rebellion*, againſt his *Maker*, by ſeeking to deſtroy, this his *Handy-Work*.

Theſe ſeeming *Contradictions*, together with the *Appellation* of an *Evening* and a *Morning* before the *Luminaries* (the onely *Dividers* of *Time*) were made, might tempt *Philo* the *Jew*, to dreſs in the *Life* of *Moſes*, The *Story* of the *Creation* in an *Allegory*, or *Fable*: Who ſtanding *Neereſt* thoſe Times, and in a *Better Light*, may be thought by ſuch as love to be *Sceptical*, moſt *probable*. But ſince the *Ancient* and *Apoſtolical Church* (To whoſe *Creed*, ſo far, as my *Darker Infidelity*, will give me leave, I ſhall ſubmit my *Judgement* in all *Humility*) hath *Accommodated* it to *Another Senſe*, I think it, as far from *Prudence*, as

Chri-

Christianity, to oppose, or in the least, *Contradict* it.

Though Apt to Consent, That the *Lapsed-Angels* might entertain more Commerce upon *Earth*, before the Promise of our *Saviour*, and whilst *Man* stood upon his *own Legs*; then after *God* had taken him into his *Protection*; as not thinking it meet to trust such *Frailty*, with so *Potent an Enemy*. Wherefore he confined the *Devil* into *Holes* and obscure *places*, out of which upon his own *Instigation*, or *Imitation* of the *Prophets* of the *Lord*, he gave his *ambiguous Oracles*, till by the brighter *Apparition* of the *Star* of *Jacob*, they were struck as irrecoverably *Dumb*, as they were *Blind* before: Averred by *Plutarch* in his *Morals*, in the *Genius*, or *Ghost* of *Socrates*. And he that would find a *Reason*, Why our *First Parents* were *Ashamed* of their *Nakedness*, must not seek

seek it, in the *Nature* they Conveyed to us, where *Bashfulness* is a *Result* of *Custom*, but from the *Contemplation* of some *creature* then in *sight really*, or *seemingly* more *beautiful* then *Themselves*: There being no *Occasion* for *shame*, but in respect of a more *Transcendent Perfection*. It remaining indubitable, *That Children* with *us*, and *Men* and *Women* amongst the *Indians*, (not to be denyed the *Exactest Followers* of the *primitive Dictates* of *pure Nature*,) are no more Sensible of *Shame*, in relation to those *Parts Adam* and *Eve* are said to have *Covered*, then the *Europeans* express, when found *Bare-Faced*. *Blushing* being a *silent Confession* of a *Fault*; not to be *found*, amongst The *Works* of *God*: Nor any where, till the *Law* had stamped the *Figures* of *Reward* and *Punishment*, upon such *Humane Actions*, as do *Advance*, or *Depress* the ge-

general *Felicity*. *Cuſtom* being ſo exact a Diſpoſer of the *Conveniency*, if not *Conſent* of *Mankind*, as to make *Divers Wives* in *Turkey*, lye quietly, under one and the ſame *Covering*. So as it requires more then an *Ordinary Intelligence*, to diſtinguiſh, between the *Free Government of Nature*, and the *Imperious Tyranny*, if I may not call it *Anarchy* (for it is not in *all places* alike) of *Education*. But leſt I ſhould appear rather a Diſciple of *Plato*, then *Moſes*, I ſhall paſs by the *Rabbys* no leſs then the *Modern Philoſophers*, that Conſume more time, in Hunting after the *Original* of the *Diſeaſe*, then the *Means* to *Cure* it, Not to be found but in *Jeſus Chriſt*. Yet, as I ſaid before, *Since* no *Heart* is empty of the *Humour* of *Curioſity*, The *Beggar* being as attentive in his *Station*, to an Improvment of *Knowledge*, as the *Prince*; It is not unlikely,

ly, to have been the *Primary* and *Centrical Sin*; *from whence* The *Lines* of *All Humane Vanities* are *drawn*, and to *which* they are *Fastned*. For if our *Latter Artists* think it no ill *Argument*, to prove the *Basis* of the *Earth Magnetical*, because the *Loadstone* is in all Clymates found: Why may it not be Concluded from as great a *Diffusion*, That A *too Dilated Desire of Inspection* into things was *Original Sin*? Since not onely Observable in *Solomon* himself; but in the *picture* of the *Fool* he draws, who ran after *Variety*: Which is onely *New Knowledge* of a *Strange Woman*. And if I am not *deluded* by those *More Learned*, One *Word* in the *Original* is taken for *Both*. But to Proceed: When *Eve* saw the *Fruit*, she did *covet*; And *Concupiscence* is enough, *Now* to Condemn *us*, though not *then*. The *Text* placing the *Transgression*

gression in *Eating*, not *Desiring*. That remayning impossible to be *prevented*, *All things* till *Contaminated* by *Sin*, being in so high a *Degree* of *Perfection*, as they did *enforce* [illegible] *Coveting* in *all* did Behold them [illegible]
" *It appearing, too low a Sacrament* [illegible]
" *Duty in Man the Supreme Vice-Ge*[illegible]
" *rent of The Almighty, To have for*[illegible]
" *Testimony of Obedience, onely ab*[illegible]
" *stained from What was in it self be*[illegible]
" *meerly Indifferently Good.*

It is not likely, He covered his *Nakedness*, with Leaves of the *same Tree*, from whence he gathered his *Destruction*: As those imagine who suppose the *Indian Fig* to be *the Forbidden Fruit*: For how should he *Dare* to *Touch* that a *Second time* had Wounded him, at *First*, *quite through Himself*, and his *Posterity*? Though Confess'd, a perfect *Representation* of *Guilt*. One *Root* being so *Diffusive*, as by a *Gum* that distil[s] from

from the *Boughs*, to dilate it Self into the *Vast Shade* of a *Desart*, sufficient to *cover* an *Host* of *Men*.

Nor is *Curiosity*, and a *Lickorish Desire* of enjoying *That we never Tryed*, (though known to be the *cloud*, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred,) yet Cured in us. "Who by *Retail*, "drop into the same *Errour*, we "Consider in *Him*, as the *Highest* "and *most Impertinent Folly*. The "*Apple* of a *Wandring Eye*, not be-"ing Seldom found able to *Over-*"*ballance the Wisdom* of *Solomon*, "and the *Piety* of *David*.

Wherefore it is time to give-over upbraiding those *Names* of *Adam* and *Eve*: All things we never *saw*, or *Knew*, being *Empty sounds*, and *Impertinent Appellations*. Not seldom Loaden out of *Ignorance* in the *Contents* of their Story, (as a number of other *Dead Voyces* are,)

with *insignificant Praise* or *Blame*. Especially, since *Moses*, and the *Prophets* are not heard to *Condemn* them; As *Conscious to Themselves*, they either *would*, or *could* not but have done the *Like*. Yet we may Safely say, That between the *Suspension* of the *Promise* and The *Fall*, (which might possibly Answer the time, *Christ* remained on the *Cross*) *Adam* endured *greater Agonies*, then e're was matched, but by *God and Man*: Who onely, knew the *Way* to *untread* the *Maze*, in which *Man* had lost Himself, and *All* that should Succeed; If so *Wicked* as to harbour a desire of *dilating himself*, and bringing an Off-spring into a like *Dilemma*, in which, he saw nothing for the Present, but Horrour, joyned with a Fearful *Expectation* of *Worse* to come. Not having so much, as the *Weak Twig* of *Hope* to sustain him from falling into *Despair*.

Which

Which could not *ſpring* but from the *Root* of an *Experience*, ariſing from a *Former Experimented Mercy*: The *Garden* having not yet produced any *Fruit* ſo *Lateward*. There being as little Marks of *Forgiveneſs*, as there was a *Diſmal Example* of *Juſtice*, ſtamped upon the *Diſobedient Angels*. Whoſe *condition* was yet, ſo far *better*, then *Mans*, as an *already Determined Judgement* is more *tollerable*, then *One* that remayns ſtill *Arbitrary*, at the *Will* of an *Omnipatent power*; And in this "*miſerable anxiety*, *God* ſaves *Adam*, "whom, *nothing elſe* was ſo *merci*-"*ful*, as to *kill*.

Now I can do no leſs, Then *predicate* here, a more *charitable Opinion*, then Theirs That Conclude the *Greateſt proportion of men Lie under the Kingdom of Satan*: By which, the *Promiſe* of *Redemption* comes to be *Reſtrained*, and ſo the *Truth* of

its *performance Obstructed.* It being no where observable, in the Dignity of *Reason*, That a *Superlative power*, should go less, or *Beneath* its *Word* in relation to *Good.* It exceeding the *Reach* of the most *Riged Distinction*, or *Strictest Interpretation*, to find a *Parity*, or *Equal proportion* between the *Head* and the *Heel*: If any were discoverable, between *crushing* and *biting.* 'This makes 'me *Tremble* at their *Presumption*, 'who Carry *Breath* in their *Nostrils*, 'yet, are not *affraid* to Affirm That 'all things so Dear to our Maker, as to 'be capable of a Future Happiness, are 'not to be found out of the Pale of 'Christendom, This, or That Church, 'or rather Chappel. No Single Profession extant, carrying a greater *Proportion*, with the *whole World* then a *peculiar Parish*, doth to a *Province.* As if the Fountains of *Gods mercy* were not as *ingenious*, and his

ſeven Spirits as *Diffuſive* as thoſe of *Nilus*; by which the *Want* not the *Neglect* of *Rain* is ſupplied in *Egypt*. Nor can it be imagined with any *Salvo*, to the *Dignity*, *Pitty*, *Wiſdom*, *Omnipotency*, and the *Promiſe* of *God* Firſt made, and therefore likely to be moſt *inviolably* kept, (*he* not being as *man*, that he ſhould *repent*) For, *That the Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is, the Fulneſs thereof*, cannot be *True*, if *Hell* ſwallow up the *major part*. And that *Chriſt* his *Son* ſhould be found, at the laſt *Aſſizes*, with a *ſmaller Trayn* (let their *Glory* be never ſo *Great*) then *his*, ſhall march in the *head* of thoſe *miſerable Souls*, cloathed with the *Wrath* of *God*. Can any in *Prudence*, if in *Equity*, think That the *Malice* of his *Enemy* ſhould be more *Diffuſive* in relation to *particulars*, then the *mercy* of our *Bleſſed Saviour*? who did not like the *Divel Fall* for

our *Deſtruction*, but *Riſe* for our *Juſtification*. There now lives not a greater *Infidel*, then S. *Thomas* was: yet the *Apoſtles* do not *excommunicate* him, nor *Chriſt reject* him, but *cure* him through a *palpable manifeſtation* of thoſe *wounds*, the *Greateſt* part of the *World have not* nor *ever had* any *Knowledge* of: Nor thoſe moſt *Reſerved*, any *Inſpection* into; but what they make through ſo *ſmal* a *Faith*, as doth not anſwer the *Proportion*, of a *grayn of muſtard-ſeed*; Elſe they would remove thoſe *mountains* that ſhadow *Truth*. And if ſo *ſingle* an *Atteſtation* as *mine*, might be allowed the *boldneſs* to appear, againſt ſuch a *Cloud of witneſſes*, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in *perſon*, of the *Title* of *Anti-Chriſt*, I ſhould *reverſe* the *Sentence*; and *pronounce* it rather againſt That *Order* of *Men*, or *Diſcipline, that put the Forgiveneſs of God*

God under a Buſhel, (which according to his *Dignity* and *Promiſe*, ought to *Diffuſe* it ſelf over all the *Nations* of the *World*) rendring by this means, the *inexhauſtible Treaſure* of *Mercy*, like the *Philoſophers ſtone:* (of which ſome have made *the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt* but an *Allegory*) onely attainable by a *People*, thus *Scituated*, *Inſtructed* and *qualified*: Whereas *None* that *Call upon the Name* of *God* (a *cuſtom* appears by *Geneſis* not to have begun *till after Adam*) are exempted out of the *primitive Grant*. The *Fault* of the *Angels*, if compared with that of *Man*, will not be found, upon a true *Survey*, much *Different*.

The *Firſt* endeavouring to *Equal* their *Maker* in his *Power*; the *Latter* in his *Wiſdom*.

It is harder to find a Reaſon for the *Angels Sin* againſt *God*, then their *Malice* to *Man*: It being uſual for *Malefactours* to hate their *Judg*,

and after *Sentence*, to endeavour the *Hindrance* of its *Execution*, and to bring *Others*, (at least those they know he *Favours*) into a *like Condemnation*; Having *Themselves* no better *Condition*, to *Hope* for, nor *Worse* to *Fear*. Like the *Wicked* of this *World*, which seek that *Ease* amongst *Company*, they are not able to *find Alone*. Wherefore the preventing Satans further *Triumph*, may not improbably be numbred amongst *the Causes why God shewed Mercy to Men*; in the *Salvation* of whom, had he been *so sparing* as some imagine, *His Justice* would appear more prevalent, then his *Mercy*. And so run out into such a *Dishonorable Extreme*, as cannot be *matched* in the *Practise* of the *Greatest Tyrants* that ever were: Which are not found to make a *Temporal Punishment* to extend to a *Major part*, much less one *Eternal*.

What

What ever the *Text* may ſeem to import to our Dull Capacities, *There* was no *Likelyhood* That *Adam* would have in this *Condition* (if he rightly underſtood Himſelf) *Eat* of the *Tree of Life :* But rather have ſwallowed *Poyſon*, (had that *Place* afforded it.) Who by Catching at the *ſhadow* of *Divinity*, loſt the *Real Subſtance* of *Humanity* ; at the *ſuggeſtion* of the *Devil :* who ſeeing *God* forme a *Governour*, out of the *Duſt*, the moſt *Deſpicable* part of his *Government*, yet a more *Honourable* beginning then *His*, (*Any thing* being better then *Nothing*) he might look upon it, with *Diſdain*, as *unworthy* the *ſentence* of *Goodneſs*. Neither might this *Humour* of *Pride* be provoked, if he be admitted ſo much *Inſpection* into *Future Succeſs*, as to ſee the *Creature* he deſpiſed, ſhould not onely inherit the *Glory* he was fallen from, but *Exceed* the *Angels*

gels that *Continued* in *Integrity*. Thus the *Serpent* growing *Fruitfull* in *Presumption*, endeavours to frustrate his *Makers Intention*, by labouring to *Deface* his *Image* in *Man*.

But *Omnipotency* struck Light, out of *Darkness*, by making the *Prince* of it, *Instrumental* to the *Production* of his *Son*. And these *Joyful Tydings*, That *the seed of the Woman should prevail against the gates of Hel*, God brings *Himself* as a *Token* that he meant to performe it in his *own Person*. Neither is it to be passed without *Notice*, That, he saith, *The seed of the Woman* onely. For by that, might be prefigured the *miraculous Conception* of our *Blessed Saviour* without a *Man*; No less, Then the *Perverseness* of *Depraved Nature*. For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an *Effect* of the *Punishment* in his present *Apprehension*, yet

Yet he was *not able to Lay* hold on the *Weak Vertues* of *Repentance* and *Acknowledgement*; the *Lawfull Daughters* of *Hope*, with whom, yet he had *no Acquaintance*, much leſs *Intereſt*, before The *Promiſe* of *Chriſt*. But inſtead of theſe *Tokens* of *Grace*, he wanted not the *Impudence*, to lay the *Fault* on *God*; as if the *Woman* had been *made* and *given* him, for his *Deſtruction*. And in this *Eves ſin* was *Leſſe*, and her *Manners* more; "For though *She* "would not take it to *herſelf*, but "Caſt it on the *Serpent*, yet She "doth not *upbraid* God, with the "*Making* of it.

Now by Gods *mild Anſwer* in this no leſs then in his *Colloquie* held with *Cain*, after the *murther* of his *Brother*, we may find, *He* is not *Angry* according to the *mode* of *men*, or as ſome *repreſent* him with *Thunder* continually in his *Hand*. As if our

pre-

Prevarications and *Miseries* had *Created passions* in our *Maker*, and taught him to be *Angry*, or *Mercifull*. Since if ever he had been Capable of *Fury*, it had *Now* appeared, when he found *Malice*, *Ingratitude*, *Folly*, and *Pride* laid all in the *way*, to interrupt his *Work*, which his *Justice* must have ruined, had it not been quenched by *Love*: A *Vertue* taken out of the Hidden Fountain of his *Goodnesse*; which till then, he was not pleased to *reveal*.

And Here his passing-by all *Notice*, of the *Devils* operation, in *Adams Transgression* may Colour *their Opinion* That think "*Sin did Then*, "*and Now doth proceed from Our* "*selves*.

Con-

Conjecturall
QUERES,
OR
Problematicall Paradoxes
Concerning
Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, and other Philoſophical Matters.

BY
FRANCIS OSBORN
Eſquire.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. Griſmond*, 1659.

QUERIES,

LONDON,
Printed by J. C. for W. G. 1659.

To his very worthy Friend, *Mr.* Ro. VVo. *of* Linc. *Coll. in* Oxon.

SIR,

DID I *own the* Wiſdome *and* Wealth *of* Seneca, *as truly as I do the higheſt* Affection *he pretends to in his* Epiſtles: *This had contained Matter no leſſe ſutable to the* Greatneſſe *of your* Judgement, *then the* Obligation *I muſt ever acknowledge I owe to your* Goodneſſe.

But ſince I am reſtrained from the Firſt by Birth, *as I am from the* Latter *by* Fortune, *You may yet be wooed*

to

to a more charitable acceptance upon this Conſideration, That though the Preſent *be ſmall, it was not* filched *from* Epicurus, *or any other Magazin of* Knowledge, *then what lyes included within my own* Invention. *Which proves* This *I ſend you, as abſolutely* mine, *as ever it was* Theirs *(if any ſuch be) that may have* Diſcovered *it before I was born. For being acquitted by my Conſcience of all* Theft *in this kinde, I take the* Recitements *of* others Opinions, *as relating to no greater a* Shame *in me, then thoſe are* Obnoxious *to, who enriched us with* Guns *and* Printing, *becauſe ſome maintain they were* uſed *in* China *many Thouſand Yeares before. The ranconter being no leſſe* Happy *then his that ſtumbled on it at firſt.*

I confeſs I have been ſo baſely abuſed by Books, *as that I entertain none but upon high* Commendations. *And thoſe rather* New *then* Old, *however the*

the world is pleaſed to look a ſquint upon them, as leſſe-deſerving, though ſome have appeared of late to Admiration, *and ſo farre* Tranſcendent *as I feare our* Period *is neere.* Ignorance *and* Barbariſme, *being commonly the laſt ſubdued before a generall Deſtruction.*

Knowledge *hath been ever taken for an infallible* Portent *of* Ruine *found*, So buſie a Companion, *as ſhe leaves nothing unpryed into, in* Heaven *or* Earth *towards the* Heights *and* Depth's *of which ſhe is not continually roleing her* Conjectures *and caſting her Darts; tenable through no* Opinions *long, but what ſhe remaines fetter'd to with the ſtrong* Chaynes *of the* Mathematicks. *A Study no leſſe* Naturall *then* Neceſſary. *The imployment of* Children, *in their exacteſt* Innocency, *being to make* Howſes *and* raiſe Pyes *of* Dirt. *So as if this inclination were*

en-

encouraged, and ſupported through the Direction of diſcreete Teachers, *Theſe* Buds *might come in Future to yeeld (without tormenting and ſubduing their Spirits) more* wholeſom Fruite, *then the crueller Culture of the* Schoole *was ever found yet able to produce.*

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a Second blow, by which the Idolaters *of* Former Cuſtomes *may be tempted to a like* Severity *in caſe I ſhould miſtake; as 'tis very poſsible I may. The* Land-skip *I endeavour to draw being darkned through* Ignorance, Superſtition, *and what is more dreadful, a thick and obſcure Cloud of* different Judgements *ſo long embraced for the* Goddeſſe of Truth, *as none can proſecute the Contrary, though never ſo farre off, under hope of a milder penalty, then to be ſent away* Naked, *and* Wounded, *which cannot but be thought an* uncivil *kind of*

Juſtice,

Juſtice, *and unſuteable to the* Primitive *and* richer ages *of the* world: *Where then as few were denyed to ſearch as we finde now able to* determine. *Every Sect of* Philoſophers *domineering in his Station.*

Yet rather then betray Naturall Reaſon *into their hands who deſire to cut off all farther* Traffick *with the Land of* Knowledge, *I ſhall leave theſe* Paradoxes, Problems, Queres, Conjectures, *or what you pleaſe to call them, wholly to your Diſpoſure. Being reſolved neither to be* dejected, *nor* elated *through their* Deſtruction *or* Preſervation. *Onely I am confident if they can paſſe with the ſmalleſt degree of* Your Approbation, *it may prove a ſafe Conduct in Juſtice againſt the ſevereſt Cenſures of others, No leſſe then a perpetuall teſtimony that I am*

Your faithful Friend
and Servant.

Conjecturall *Paradoxes*

CONCERNING

Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, &c.

MOſt *Philoſophy* lies clouded by *Diſputes*, and the *Magiſteriall Determinations* of the *Schooles*, from whence it hath till of late, been thought Preſumption to appeal; Though *Manifeſt Errours* do appear in what they have already judged: And many as materiall things paſſed by under *Silence* or *Reſtraint*, that cannot be denyed as fit to be known. Nor are any ſo likely to *diſcover* new *Truths*

as

as such as march *by themselves*, and out of the *beaten Track* of others. *Curious Ideas* being like *Precious Stones*, sooner *stumbled* upon, and found in places least looked for, then *Started* by the *Direction* of any that went before; who have left onely *Discouragement*, or at least but a *Negative* or such a *perplexed Knowledge*, as renders their *Understanding* that rest in it more *Offuscated* and *Gloomy* then the most stupid *Ignorance* it self.

Which together affords me cause enough to think our rare *Inventions* "and *pregnant wits stifle their own* "*Naturall Fertility through a too* "*long and frequent Commerce with* "*Books*; *Not seldom of a contrary* "*Complexion and Style to the Rea-* "*ders: yet forced out of Custome to be* "*conversant in them.* By which he is brought to *Stammer* and become so *Diffident* of himself (such *Learning*

ning lying in *Memory* the moſt *pedantical* part of *Knowledge*) as he dares not deliver his own *Opinion* out of *Reverence* to *Antiquity* or any *Authors* elſe, but in the *ſame words* he finds it written. The *doting* upon *Forraign Authority* keeping us ſtill at a *ſtand*: like the *Body* of *Joabs Brother*, beyond which the *Iſraelites* would not paſs out of a vain reverence to their *General*.

And thus all further *Proſecution of Knowledge* and *Conqueſt over Ignorance* is obſtructed, and *Schollars* tyed to *Cultivate* and confine their *Travels* within the Circuit of a barren *Wilderneſs*, ſtocked with *inſignificant Termes* and ſuch *crabbed Alluſions* and *improbable Concluſions*, that have no better Plea for their *Authority* then the exorbitant veneration which *Tradition* rather then *Merit*, hath awarded *Antiquity* above the *equal*, if not *better Judgements* found

in *our Age*. Nor is there hope of any further or more happy *Progress* till these *rotten Carcasses* be *removed* out of the way, or *covered* from their Eyes that want not Hearts and abilities to *jogge* on better without them.

The *First Man* could have at the Beginning but this Advantage of a *Child*, that his *Organs* were immediately *fitted* and *prepared* to *receive* no less then *retain Knowledg*. Which in an *Infant* are *Obstructed* through Want of *Room*, or too great a *Redundancy* of *Phlegm* or *Moisture*.

For if *Adam* was furnished with more, it must be *Supernatural*, and [illegible] far above humane apprehension, [illegible] it is to imagine how he should *Know his Goods*, or the *use* of what he never had seen or *tryed*, unlesse we conceive he brought an *Inventory* or *Herball* into the world with him.

Wherefore, according to human

understanding, *Reason* like *Fire* was at the beginning but a *Spark*, till through a confluence of all *Events* happenable to Man it, received *Augmentation*, as the other did from the Supplement of *Matter*; And having once *caught Paper* did *illuminate* the *World*.

Now though so much *Knowledge* is not unlikely to be found in the *Creature*, as that with the same *Advantages* to increase it, they might become more intelligent then still to remain *Slaves*: Yet I find room for a *Quere*, 'Whether this 'Defect (if capable of that Title) 'doth not proceed rather from the 'Want of Speech, then perception? 'Or Whether Humanity that arrogates 'so high, as to proclaim it self Lord 'over all may not be found in some 'Persons and Places (as it might not 'impossibly have been in the Rest) 'little more Rationall, had it no great-

'er ſtock of *Experiments*, to traffick 'with, then every reſpective indivi-'duall is able to glean up of himſelf? Our advantages proceeding from *Commerce*, whoſe Wheel once ſet a work did quickly manifeſt on which Side *Gain* or *Loſſe* lay, the *Primitive Knowledge* of *Good* and *Evil*, and before whoſe door *Sin* was firſt found.

And this *Inſpection into things* at the beginning dim and modeſt, became by handing from one generation to another, ſo *huge* a *Mountain* in their eſtimation who preſumed to have made a full and exact *Survey* of the Land of *Knowledge*; That with the *Gyants* of old, they did not onely rant it over mens *Perſons* and *Conſciences*, by proportioning what extent of *Worſhip* befitted the *Gods*, but erected their *Pillars* upon the borders of *Philoſophy* un der ſuch an *Imperious Injunction*, as none, till of late

late have ventured to discover any thing beyond them; Though found in other *Descriptions* and *Relations* very *False*, by *multiplying* such poor *Advantages* as *Man* hath acquired, and *depressing* greater which do naturally belong to the *Creature*, who is inspired with the same *breath*, inhabits the same Earth, is more *Healthfull* and *Strong*; Onely he seems to come short in *Reason*. The *originall* of which I shall make my further endeavour to *discover*. And if it prove in the *abstract* more *adventitious* then *Naturall*, and *lesse beneficiall*, then the *Senses*, upon whose *ruines* she hath built her foundation, I hope it may hold forth an *use* of *Humility* unto *us*, if not move *pitty* towards the *Creature*, who the *Apostle* justly saith *groans* for its *Deliverance*.

It is on all hands confessed without the least whisper of Contradi-

ction, That, ‘*Luxurious, idle and vi-*
‘*tious Nations are moſt pregnant and*
‘*happy in the richeſt Endowments of*
‘*the Mind.* And, That *it is ordinary*
‘*with diverſe in Extaſies, Feavers,*
‘*acute Diſeaſes, and during the ſtorms*
‘*of Love, Fear, &c. to have their In-*
‘*ventions ſoare higher then in a more*
‘*entire Health they have been found*
‘*after able to reach.* From whence it is deducible, that *Reaſon* (for ought we know) may be but the *Effect* of thoſe *Corporeall infirmities* from which without Queſtion it receives *Augmentation.* Since *Wiſdom* is not found frequently mingled with *Strength* and *Beauty.* The richeſt endowments *unſophiſticated Nature* appears to own in all things living beſides; Whereas ſome, if not the generality of men outwardly *Crooked* and *Deformed* utter *Inventions* moſt *neatly compoſed.* The *Loſſe* and *Defect* in one externall *Senſe* or *Part*

ma-

making a treble *Compensation* in the *Mind*. Contrary to *Beasts*, amongst whom those of the *exactest Features* are most *usefull* and *Docile*.

Nor is it probable but such *Variety* of *Food* separated from the blood by *Fire*, and compounded with *Sugar*, *Spices*, *Salt*, *Sawces*, *Perfumes*, with all sorts of *Viands* relating to the *High Tast*, which eaten are convertible into our own *Bodies*, should alter and adde to the Faculties of the *Mind*, and fill us in the *Day* with some of those *Rationall Raptures* we apprehend from the *vapours* they raise so palpably during *Sleep*: Not to be denyed the Effects of a *Distempered Brain*, and strangers to such *Creatures* and *Persons* as are of more *Naturall Dyets*, or make their *Repast* on *Herbs* and *lesse sophisticated meats* through which *Fligme* is increased, so known a *Retarder* of *understanding* as to

protract the *maturity* of *Children*, till by a *Dryer Aliment* and *unnaturall Heat* they are exposed to (especially their *Heads*) it is consumed. A *concurrent cause* of this *rationall Advantage* we pretend to have over *Beasts* That wanting the use of *Fire* are necessarily more repleniſhed with *Fluid Humours*, and so by Consequence *Leſſe Wiſe*, though far *more Agill, Healthful and ſtrong*. Whereas those to whom we allow the largeſt proportion of *Underſtanding*, are *Weak, Meager*, and ſtill under ſome *Courſe* of *Phyſick*, which may paſſe for *another Cauſe* of *Knowledge*; The *Operations* of the *Mind* being most *prevalent* in *Decrepit Bodyes*.

The ſame is incident to *Wine*, that doth not ſeldom *inſpire* a *Clown* with *Civility*, a *Coward* with *Valour*, the moſt ſordidly *Covetous* with *Liberality*; And (what is moſt conducible to the Aſſertion in hand) a *Fool* with

with a larger proportion of *Wit* then he had, though unable to reduce it into a *Habit*, by reaſon of ſome *Obſtruction* or *Leakage* in his *Organs*. From whence it is as apparent That *Fancy* and *Conceit* may be gratified at the prejudice of the *Senſes*, no leſſe then by the uſuall practiſe of *Students*, *Poets*, and *Accomptants* that uſe all endeavours to exclude and ſtifle the *Ideas* both of their *Eyes* and *Eares*, whoſe *Diverſions* they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy Succeſſe of all they are in labour to bring about. Whereas *Beaſts*, by reaſon of their continuall *Fears* find leaſure to be attentive to nothing but *ſenſe*. Like a *Town Beſieged* wherein all other Arts ceaſe, but what may contribute to *Releif* and *Preſervation*, becauſe *Hearing* and *Smelling* are their chiefeſt *out-Guards*, and without which they cannot in ſafety ga-

ther their *Food*. Nor doth their Care extend beyond this for want of that *Spur* of *Neceſsity* (formed through the Mediation of their own *Arts* and *Nature*) with which *Men* are pricked on to *New Inventions*. Being at better *Leiſure* & more *Security*. Able (ſtanding in little awe but oft heir own *Species*) to conſume thoſe Spirits in *internall Contemplations*, through which both themſelves and their Fellow-*Creatures* are rendred more *miſerable* then by Nature, without this improvement (of what they call *Wiſdom*) they needed to have been; Whilſt the other *Animalls* are forced to diſſipate them amongſt their *Senſes* onely to purchaſe *Food* and *Safety*. Yet the *Knowledge* ſo much boaſted of, is no more *Ours*, then *Honey* is the *Bees*, before picked up out of the *Leſſe-erring Practiſes* of the more *innocent Creatures*, from whence

whence they have deduced their beſt *principles* to the very *Arts* uſed by themſelves in the *Preſervation* or *Deſtruction* of their own *Kind.* And theſe hoarded up in *Memory, the Magazin of By-paſt Events*, though poſſibly at firſt no more retentive in *man's Head* then *Beaſts*, till by the *Fumes* of the former mentioned *Exceſſe*, Ours become ſo *Oyly* like a *Pot-lid*, and apt for *Receipt*, as nothing worthy obſervation could eſcape without leaving an *Impreſſion* behind it. And in this *mould* with the help of *Fire*, and a continuall *Refining* through Time, the *pureſt Reaſon*, ſo much relyed on by *Statiſts* and *Politicians* came at firſt to be Caſt.

And that this is not obtruded upon Belief under a ſingle Teſtimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French Nation*, where they have not a more Appoſite expreſſi-

on.

on for a *Fool*, then, that, *His Head is ill made.* No weak argument of an universall Belief, That Midwives skill doth highly conduce to an *advancement* or *depreſſion* of *Wiſdom* in a *Child.* And from hence I have been led to this wiſh, That the like office might be performed on the behalf of a *young Ape* (of the *Kingdom* of *Congo*, of which ſome years ſince I ſaw one in *England*, that bare a Symmetry if not throughout like to, yet very little differing from a *Childs*) whoſe *Skull* being kept from a too ſudden cloſing by *Heat*, *Swathing*, and the reſt of the *Ligations* uſed by *Nurſes* to *Infants* might not unpoſſibly acquire *reaſon*, which once attained, The *Impediments* to *Speech*, (whoſe principall Cunning lyes in a *muſicall Diviſion* or *mincing a continued ſound into articulate Notes*) would be no ſooner diſcovered then removed:

We

We enjoying many things under the Favour and endeavours of *Reason*, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, then the *Coynage of Languages* rendred apparent through the *multitude* of them met with in the world. And this once acquired, though by *chance* and not altogether consonant to the exact pattern of *Nature*, *Custom*, assisted by *Imagination* might render diffusive for the Future. As I believe not onely many of our new-purchased *Qualities* but diverse of those *mans Curiosity* hath imprinted upon his *Own Kind* or *Others*, are already become Manifest in a *Succession of Doggs whelped without Tayles*. To which *mutilation* (at first no question purely humane or meerly accidentall) Nature hath been so indulgent already, as insteed of an unsightly *Bob*, to forme a sharp comely *Bone* like the *Scut* of a *Deer*.

Now

Now since we are able to *adde* to, or *Diminish* from *Natures* work, both in reference to *Body* and *Mind*, it cannot appear improbable That many *Alterations* (perhaps greater then we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their *Flux* and *Reflux* often repeated or changed since the Beginning. Which may render it no *improbable Opinion*, (but as *true* as formerly it hath been *common*) That *Apes were of the seed of Cham*, or else the *by-blowes of some wild stock of Humanity*: the *Characters* of whose kind remaining no lesse manifest in their *Bodies*, then *Affections* to *Women*: of which there are so many living Witnesses, as it were superfluous to endeavour to prove it. Onely this may be added as a further Testimony: That *my Self* have seen *two Monkies* that for many years did not fail to have duly a *Lunary Purgation*.

Nor

Nor is this any rare *Discovery*, but cited as a Report by the *Lord Mountayne* in his *Essayes*, No lesse then we find it the usuall practise of the *Almighty* in the *Scriptures*, To 'punish a Sin in the Succession of a 'Family, as he did some with *short Life*, others with *Leprosie*, &c. The Recitall of which I will fully omit, it being my *Taske* rather to *Propose* then *Determine*.

And if any understand what is said here in a more *positive* Sense, They abuse themselves no lesse then wrong me; Who have no Stronger Assertions to justifie this, Then my Weak Conjecture, which is, That *if God layd the Deprivation of Reason upon these Monsters* (For other they cannot appear to be, bearing a *shape* and owning *Gestures* as various from the rest of *Animals*, as their Conceptions are remote from the *Prudence* of a *man*)

'for

'*for any peculiar Offence*, or that '*humane Luſt did cauſe it, by caſting* '*Seed into an irrationall and improper* '*Soyle, There lyes no Cure for this Be-* '*ſtiality, if not in Heat. Cold* being a heavy Enemy to *Activity* of the *mind* though a try'd Friend to *Strength*, and a Continuer of *Perfe-ction.* As *Heat* on the contrary melts and refines the *Spirits* into a more *Rationall Temper.* The firſt of which is exemplified in *Sheep* and *Kine*, which though uſefull, cannot be excluded the *Catalogue* of the moſt *Simple:* For expoſing their *new-fallen Young* to the injury of the weather, their *Pores* become ſealed up ſo cloſe as the *Groſſe* and *Flegmatick* ſtrangle the *Purer Spirits* onely capable of that *Vivacity* and *Cunning* found in thoſe *Creatures* forced to uſe *Stratagems* in the gayning of their Food, whoſe *Whelps* are *houſed* in *Dennes* and *Thickets.*

Nor

Nor are the *Foggy Humours* in thoſe *Creatures* rarifi'd by *Sweat*, moſt proper to the *Heads* of *Men*, That in *Horſes* being rather *ſqueezed* out by *Labour*, then diſtilled gently by *Drops*; through which *Nature* obtains an opportunity to *pick* and *Chooſe*, who uncompelled will part with nothing but what is *Bad* or *Superfluous*.

Now if the *Head* be capable of moulding into one *Figure* more apt for the production of *reaſon*, then another (as it is on the ſide of common experience confeſſed) then can as little doubt be made but that it muſt needs have been litt upon in a far leſſe revolution of Time then the *World* hath already paſſed over, if certain of her own *Chronologie*, which ſome have extended *many Thouſand* of *Yeares* beyond what by *Faith* we are obliged to believe. And *Wiſdom* once attained could never

never be loſt; Since (as it is reported of the *Elixar*) ſhe receives *Augmentation* and *Improvement* from every *Event*. And becauſe our greater *Security* and *Variety* of *Food* hath ſuffocated and abated ſo much of our *Senſe* as it is in no proportion able to find imployment for our *Fancie*, (againſt whoſe Nature it is to be *Idle*) as *That* more *entire* may do in the *Creature*; *Man* is continually *ruminating* of what is *Paſt*, or *Attentive* on what is *Preſent*, and by *Comparing* of theſe, is in ſome Mediocrity taught to determine of the *Future*. Having *Wiſdome* or *Folly* objected to him, according as the *Conjecture* doth quadrate with *Truth*, and the Concurrence of a *Happy Succeſſe*. Whereas the reſt of Animals not being able to eſtate their *Young*, and ſuch as ſucceed in their dear-bought *Experiences*, (if not for want of *memory* the *mint of*

Know-

Knowledge, yet out of an *Incapacity* for *Diſcourſe*, and Diſability to employ ſuch *Arts* as are only proper to *Societies* limited by *Lawes*) become *ſtunted* in their *Knowledge*; and without *Improvement*, not owning a larger *Stock* then the *Brevity* of a *Turbulent Life* is able to accumulate; for want of *Words*, which coyned into *Queſtions* and *Anſwers*, are only able to *Barter* our *own*, and *purchaſe the Wiſdom* belonging to *Others*.

Now if any think people were born *Wiſe* at the *Firſt*, (I mean in relation to the *underſtanding* now *currant*) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon *Contemplation* of the vaſt *Improvement* one *Age* makes of what went before, and how many *New* and more *uſefull Arts* are now as it were daily *invented*.

And as the *want of Words* is a totall *Eclipſe*, of any nearer *dawne* or further

further *progreſſe* in the *Creature* towards *Reaſon*; ſo we finde the *Confuſion of Languages* no ſmall *Remora* to the enlargement of *Mans*: The which (as is obſervable in ſome *Plagues* elſe) though immediately poured on us by God for *Sin*, have their radicall *Cauſe* yet extant in *Nature* it ſelfe: So a *Variety* in *Dialects* may by ſuch probabilities as theſe ſeem to be occaſioned, *Speech* being but an *Appellation* of *Things* of which *Providence* hath beſtowed many in *one place*, denyed to *Others*, a *Diverſity of Languages* muſt needs attend as a neceſſary Conſequence. Made yet more various and leſſe intelligible from *Moyſture* and *Drowth*; Through whoſe Mediocrity or Exceſſe, *Sound* is rendred either *Liquid* or *Mute* proportionate to the *Contraction* or *Extenſion* of their *Organs* who do, or may hereafter inhabit the place. That cannot but naturally

rally own the Cauſes of ſuch Effects. Some *Pumping* their *Words* out of their *Throats*, others *Lower*. As I knew a tall *Scotchman* allow'd a Penſion from *King James*, That could frame a *Voice* at the *Mouth* of his *Lungs*, ſeeming to be remote from the Eares of the neareſt Byſtander. A *Fallacy* no leſſe likely to be in practice with the *Prieſts* of *Apollo* then the *Originall* of many *miraculous Narrations* of *Old*. And through this *variety of Tone* and *Pronunciation* it often comes to paſſe, That an *Engliſhman* is not able readily to converſe with a *Stranger* in one and the ſame *Latine*. From whence we may modeſtly obſerve that *Nature* had the *Confuſion* of *Tongues in Potentia* before *God* reduced it into an *Actuall Plague*. Who did not then create it anew, no more then he did the *Rain-Bow*. But did only accommodate

date this Punishment to his present purpose.

Now though the *Multiplicity* of *Idioms* may in some part Cloud our *Knowledge* from the *Experiences* to be gain'd by *Strangers*, yet the *Time* usually spent, and the *Hardship* indured at *Schoole* to dissipate these *Mediums*, & to learn to see through them, may not unpossibly be heavier and more tedious then the *Curse* it selfe.

It being likelier to have been the voyce of *Custome* then *Reason* that *Fonted* a bare *Knowledge* in *Tongues* with the *Title* of *Learning*. In the prosecution of which the *Spirits* of *Children* are blunted, and *Wit* exchanged for *Insignificant Termes*, and a *Stupid* Ignorance of all things else, under the Tyrannicall Regiment of an Ignorant *Pedagogue*. Who if good for any thing, that *Art* must needes go so averse to the

grayne

grayne of his Underſtanding, as he cannot but be a meere *Empaticke* in it. Apparent in the moſt, becauſe ſeldom undertaken, but as a *Laſt Reſerve*, and after more eaſie and thriving *Profeſſions* have been tryed. Where if the *Salary* prove not more *neceſſary* to his *Fortune*, then ſo unmanly an *Erudition* doth to the miſerable *Child*, 'tis eaſie to gueſſe who drove the Bargain. And this *Plague* paſt ſome to *bayle* themſelves out of the *Deſerts* of *Want*, and the Sonnes of others leſſe needy to attain an inſight into ſuch *Tongues*, as our Anceſtors *Folly*, not *Reaſon*, prompted them to, preferre before *Experience* the *Dialect* of the *World*, and with which you may travaile further and in more Security then with all the *Learning* in *Europe*.

The *Child* now in his moſt *Docile* age to *Study men*, and *Softeſt Temper*

per to take the *Impression* of *Patience* and *Complyance*, is by a Learned Tutor and Brazen-fac'd *Impudence* gayned in the *Schooles* swept and garnished to receive a *Seaven-fold* more *Wilfull* and *Indomitable Ignorance* in relation to what is Convenient and becomming a *Citizen of the World*. A false Opinion of what he *Hath not* covering from his Apprehension such *Defects* as really he hath.

Such as make *Learning* a full Imployment have their *Judgements* so over-awed by *Antiquity*, that like *Players* they dare present nothing in publick but what their *Poets* have left them written. And if any Exception can be made against that generall *Rule*, which Concludes *too long Continuance at the Universities no great Advancer of parts*, it will be found amongst such as passed under the Notion of *Raschalls* and *Libertines*

tine. It being obvious to Proof (if I were willing to regiſter thoſe *Glorious Names* under ſuch a *Monſtrous Head*) That none have graced *Learning* more then ſome the *Univerſity* hath exploded. *Invention* being an *Art* of too noble a nature, to be learned under a *Prentiſhip*, or the great Reſtraint of the *Schools*. That ſpoil and dead the freſh and *piquant* Taſt of later and *New Wits* by putting them into *Old Formes*, patched up with *Sentences*, which doth unavoydably make a *Rent* in the *Authors ſtyle*. It being impoſſible for one to write or behave himſelf ſuitable to the guſto of all, or of the Major part that hath not ſpent his time in a more *univerſall Commerce* then the guize of an *Academy* is able to afford. And if any doubt of this *Truth*, ſhew the *Infidel* a *meer-Scholar* in the *Company of Ladies*; Or (that failing to Convert him,) A

managing his *Horſe*, or *Eſtate* after the old *Idolater* his *Father* or *Uncle* is dead, Who thought no other *Calves* deſerv'd to be *Worſhipfull* that had not learn'd to bleat after the *Mode* of *Dan* or *Bethel*.

The ancient and indeed moſt *Naturall Tryall* for *Land* in this Nation (ſince *Strength* and *Valour* meaſures out the Livelyhood and Place of Abode to every Creature) was by *Combate*: At this Day reduced into the *Art* of *Fencing*, whoſe exacteſt *Profeſſors* are not ſeldom confounded and beaten out of their *Play* by an *active Country-man*, that owns no more *Cunning* then a *Robuſt arm*, and a *quick Eye* is able to informe: *Cudgell* withall, eaſily found in every Wood: Becauſe managed contrary to a *premiſed Method*; The practiſe of the *Science*, (far eaſier call'd *Noble* then prov'd ſo) had onely acquainted the *Fencer* with, who becomes

comes further to seek, and is put in a greater Disarray through this more *Naturall*, but lesse *Methodicall* way, then another possibly might have been, that deals his Blowes by a lesse Artificiall Direction. The *Faculties* of *Soul* and *Body* being observed at long running to receive seldom amendment, often *Detriment* from the Restrictions of *Art*: unlesse in things like *Painting* meerly *Delusive*, or *Grafting*, and *Planting* wholly Laborious. These being Imbellishers, if not Restorers of *Nature*, whereas the *Liberall Sciences* (as the *Schools* call them) Labour to Confine *Experience* within *Generall Rules*, though found to be as Diffusive and Numberlesse as the Accidents and *Events* depending upon *Motion*. And through whose mediation alone Reason is capable of a further *Improvement*.

As Mans refusing no *Nourishment*

hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the Favour of ſome ſeeming probability at leaſt) for an *Advancer* of that *Wiſdom*, we tranſcend the reſt of *Gods Creatures* in. So I preſume it may as rationally be propoſed for an *Occaſion* of long Life: Since through ſo various a *Change* of *Meates* the ſeverall *Humours* of our *Bodies* are in a continuall Viciſſitude ſo ſtimulated and held in ſuch an equall Conteſt, as neither *Heat* nor *Cold*, *Drowth* nor *Moyſture* are ſuffered to exceed that juſt Proportion Nature hath aſſigned to maintain all things in Being: Few *Creatures* attaining to ſo *long a Continuance* as *Elephants*, *Horſes*, &c. moſt Domeſticall with Men, which by reaſon of the great *Variety* of *Herbs* they feed on in Summer, and their *Dry Dyet* in *Winter* (Noted by *That Honourable Reſtorer of Philoſophy* for a great *Prolonger of Life*)

do

do not ſeldom reach the moſt ordinary Ages of Men. And amongſt *Birds*, thoſe of *Prey*, *Parrats* and *Geeſe*; the *Firſt* feeding on all ſorts of *Fleſh*, nor will they refuſe *Fiſh* upon occaſion; As the *Second* of every thing eatable by *us*; The *Third* upon what is held *venemous* to Human *Nature*, beſides *Graſſe* and *Corne*. Whereas *Doves*, *Sparrowes*, &c. are of *ſhort Continuance*; To which I ſhall onely adde, in Favour of my former Aſſertion, That the *Fowles* firſt mentioned come ſhort in *underſtanding* of nothing that hath *Wings*.

I heard it Firſt affirmed by a *French Student* in *Phyſick*, and known it verified by my own *Experience* in relation to many That all *Fowle may be eaten*, (if not for *Delight*) in a *Siege*, or time of *Neceſſity*, without Danger. *Opinion* rather then *Nature* having cauſed a *Diſguſt* generally

arising against some (of Themselves) *Delicate Meats*, as my *Self* can attest for *Young-Bald-Buzzards*, *Sparrow-Hawkes*, *Owles*, &c. Together with a Number of Things more an effeminate Niceneſſe hath exploded our *Tables*. Yet in the mean time *Muſhromes*, *Frogs*, *Whelkes*, *Snayles*, &c. have crawled into the *Diſhes* of *Princes*, and are daily eaten in their Courts for *Dainties*, which amongſt other *Viands* not in uſe amongſt our *Anceſtours* are not unlikely to Occaſion other Vapours then their more Unſophiſticated *Food* did Alembecke the Heads of ſuch orderly Perſons withall, whoſe *Dreames* if not *Waking Imaginations* muſt needs differ from ours. As I can inſtance from a repeated *Experiment* of my own, Who encouraged through the former mentioned *French man*'s Confidence, did eat at Supper a conſiderable

cerable Quantity of the *Green-wood-ſpite* with the *Long-Tongue.* After which I found my *Sleep* taken up with *uncouth* and (as I then apprehended) no *Impertinent Fancies*, the Cauſe I made a Second *Experiment*, with the like Succeſſe. From whence may be deduced, That if our *Nouriſhment* or any Outward or Inward *Application* or *Diſgeſtion* may be of force to inſpire *Sleep* with various *Dreams*, which remembred waking ſeem not unworthy our own moſt ſerious *Meditations* nó leſſe then the Attention of others more Wiſe. *Man* alone that hath extended his *Food* over all things eatable cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in groſſe or reſpectively lyable unto, and ſo Capable of a more Diffuſive *Knowledge* then the *Creatures*, not able to diſgeſt that *Variety Cuſtome* hath rendred the *Stomackes* of *Men* familiar

liar withall. *Theirs* being commonly of *One Temper* and without Mixture. *Ours Hot* and *Cold*, *Dry* and *Moyst*, bordering upon the next Confines of *Poyson*; And not seldom a *Compoſition* of all *Contrarieties* together. Now if our *Bodies* (as *Doctor Browne* no leſſe wittily then truly ſaith) "*are in a ſmall revolution of Time licked from our Trenchers*, why may not what we Eat, work as effectually upon our *Spirits* as *Fleſh*, and as well *waking* as *aſleep*?

Upon the firſt view of *Cornelius Agrippa's Vanity of Sciences*, I did applaud his *Diligence*, in becomming ſo verſed in every *Profeſſion*, no leſſe then his reſolute Detection of their Abuſes: By which he confirms me in the *Opinion*, That what we eſteem *Wiſdom*, is of no more Signall *Advantage* (as I have often ſaid) then what is deduceable out of

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the Weakneſſe of others. Yet upon Inſpection into the Bottom of his *Reprehenſions*, I find the World is held up and kept in plight meerly by *Cheating*: So as thoſe *Trades* he hath reduced under a Numeration are not only Guilty, but *Himſelfe* and all ſuch as make it their *Paſtime* if not their buſineſs to be *Scepticall* in what is generally lookt upon as *Certain*; and to fiſh for more probable *Truths* in the *Depths* of Nature. Where nothing is found pure without Mixture, (if we may not with *Reverence* ſay *Sophiſtication*) to her very Products of *Life* and *Death*. Since the one would be as farre to ſeek of any *Content* in the Abſence of *Hope*, as the Other of *Bitterneſſe* out of the Preſence of *Feare*. Now ſince the *Mother* of *All Things* uſeth ſuch ſlights to flatter her Children into the Act of *Generation*, for her own ſake of *Continuance*, and for the

ſame hath repreſented *Death* in the moſt odious Aſpect, to *Terrifie* us out of the *Deſire* of the *Grave*, (which though oppoſite to her preſent Intention, cannot but be as neceſſary to a Future, and that which *Religion* teacheth, is only Capable to make us in the leaſt meaſure Happy) How ſhould her Creature *Man* produce more uſefull, or gather more Laſting *Fruit* then Thoſe of *Sodom*, that vaniſh upon the offer of *Fruition*, ſince the moſt beneficial *Calling* or *Imployment* is uncapable of affording a more *Honourable Salary*, then *Induſtry* can worm out of the *Wants* of *Others*? From whence we may ſafely affirm, *That Sin* is the chiefeſt *Task-maſter*, Since the moſt are buſied about what is *Deſtructive*, *ſuperfluous*, or *uncertain*. And to remove this from *vulgar Underſtandings*, the beſt and readieſt Chapman for all Things adulterated

ted in reference to *Honour*, *Profit*, and *Universall Good and Tranquillity*, the Preservation of which hath diminished much of the Naturall Stock belonging to Particulars. Such ranting *Termes* as *Agrippa* mentions, are stuffed into all *Sciences*. Through which the most Familiar Things are rendred *unintelligible* without a *Lexicon*. And in no other respect usefull, then like *Gawdy Shells*, and Glistering Stones to adorn the *Fountains of Learning* towards the Gratification of their Eyes, who led by the *Ocean* of *Books* that daily issue out, come to visit them like the *Heads* of *Nilus*. Though such *Canting* cannot but be Destructive to nearer *Relations*, by which every Profession is furnished with an Opportunity of *Deceit*, to the end of the Chapter of *Trade*. The Continuance of which renders the *Buyer* oftentimes further to seek in the

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Knowledge of the *Name*, then the *Thing*. An inconvenience ſo viſible and *Epidemicall*, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continued within the Circle of *Men* obnoxious to the like Fault, and not fallen ſo heavy upon *Children*, whoſe miſery no leſſe then *Loſſe* of *Time* I have not yet forgot; indur'd and ſpent upon *Formes* little Different from thoſe of a *Gally*, to no more Thriving an Intention in reference to the *Publick*, Then *Apothecaries* paynt and adorn their *Shops* which is to delude the *Ignorant*, and hide from *Inſpection* ſuch Arts as lye more in *Parade* then *Subſtance*. The Occaſion not onely of a greater Expence of *Yeares* in this *Lymbo*, to the loſſe of the more uſefull *viſion* of *Experience*, but a ſmaller proficiency in *Learning*, ſuch being held ſo long viewing the *Superſcription*, as ſmall leaſure (if any

ny desire) is left to consider the *Contents*. Nor doth the *universality* of this Abuse render it more tolerable then the *Multitude*, as well as *variety* of *Company* can the *Paynes of Hell*. *Learning* running in this Course so contrary to what She professes, which is to render *Reason more playn*, That She brings, like *Eve* a *Totter'd Apron* to cover it.

Though *Chalk-Stones* may appear of too weak and soft a Temper to perfect a *Fabrick*, yet they become usefull and necessary to mark and delineate the *First Grounds* for the Greatest and most exact *Designes*: So *Idea's* the Embryo's of Knowledge, are not seldom found in *Heads* apter for *Conception*, then *Production*. It being a labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of so exact a *Minerva*, & so strongly arm'd as may be proof against *Detraction* & *Emendation*. Yet

Yet rambling Wits ought (in my poor Judgement) to be indulged, becauſe by Crumbling their *Conjectures* on all Subjects, they have in every Age further inriched the World, then *Solider underſtandings* are known to have done. Which may appear upon *Tryall* fitter for *Nourſes* then *Mothers*, whom in a ſhort Time they teach their *Children* to forget, and *Call that by their own Names*, never coſt them more paynes then to *Educate* and *Cloath* ſuteably to the Apprehenſions of Men. A *Truth* ſo manifeſt, That if all the *Arts* (not to mention the *Altars*) were forced to refund what hath been primitively borrowed from the *Poets*, They would (if not be *Naked*) want many of their richeſt *Ornaments*. And if we call to Account who firſt did embelliſh our *Language*, we ſhall not finde them amongſt the *Greateſt Clarks*, but ſuch

ſuch as were more Converſant with *Men* then *Books*. For though the Firſt like Flegmatick *Cattle*, hanging their *Noſes* ſtill over their *Tables*, may appear more *plomp* and *voluminous*, yet ſuch as with the *Eagle* Survay the *World*, cannot but be more *Active* and *Exemplary*.

Nature holds out proof againſt all *Conſtraint*. For if violated in one *ſenſe*, it is ſtill for a Gratification of ſome other *Paſſion* or *Affection*, at the preſent more prevalent. *Coneys*, *Ferrets*, &c. do not ſeldom devoure their *young*, but 'tis alwayes for want of Water or Meat. Nor are *Women* (out of Feare and Shame of what *Law* hath rather forged then found in the *Records* of Nature) leſſe cruel to their *Children*, when ſqueezed between the Bark of *Reproach*, and the dreadfull *Tree* of *Deſtruction*, they make them away.

For

For though *Nature* hath placed *Mother* and *Child* in a relation next *in blood*; She hath removed them many Degrees off in that of *Affection*, ever moſt prevalent in reference to *Themſelves*; Eſpecially when *all hope* determines as it doth here.

To conclude, *Selfe-Murther* (as we call it, though reckoned amongſt the higheſt reſults of *Valour*) being ſtill to avoyd a *preſent*, or put to ſilence all expectation of *Future Miſery*, eſteemed worſe then *Death*, may no more then the reſt be contrary to the award of this *univerſall Miſtreſſe*, whoſe higheſt intention is *Well-being*, no more then it is againſt Reaſon *Of two Evills to make choyce of the Leaſt.*

No *Element* is found lyable to a more generall *Diminution* then it is ſubject to an univerſal *Exceſſe*. Manifeſt in the *Sea*, that receives not any

any Augmentation from the greateſt Confluence of *Land-Floods*. The Reaſon is, That her *Commings-in* are Mathematically adjouſted to her *Layings-out*. All poſſible Abatements in one place being reemburs'd in another, by a continuall *Bartering* and *Exchange*. From whence through a Naturall *Chimiſtry* ſo much is *Commuted* or Calcin'd as onely makes good the *Principall Stock* without incroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as ſeek further after their own *Originall*, or are in Queſt of a remoter Cauſe then *God*, proſecute ano leſſe impertinent Study, and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected then Conjecture is able to return their Curioſity, who endeavour to find out what Mutations may ſucceed after Death hath determined their Speculation ſhall ceaſe. It being equal-

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ly impoſſible to diſcover our firſt *Production*, as for a *Child*, without Direction, to know the *Midwife* that brought him into the World, or the preciſe part of it whereon he was born. Wherefore out of the power of any thing but *Omniſcience* to extend a *Pedigree* beyond the Line of ordinary *Generation*. That related by *Moſes* pointing more to *Obedience*, and an exact Obſervation of the *Sabbath* (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) then the fomenting of *Underſtanding* not improperly alleadged for the *Diſcoverer* if not the *Occaſion* of *Infelicity*; Man remaining in a more entire *Tranquillity* under a Calm *Ignorance* then ſuch a turbulent and indeterminable *Knowledge*. Which like the *Aprons* it firſt produced, is patched up with ſo many *Leaves* of *Contrary Operations*, *Ends*, and *Applications*, that under

under pretence of a *Covering* for our *Shame*, it doth daily *reveal* more *Miſchief*, and is by reaſon of a *Subtilty* learn'd from the *Serpent*, able to Conceal greater *Malice*, *Sin and Wickedneſſe* (The Originall of Infelicity) then *Naked-mankind* had ever beeñ Capable of without it. So as no thanks remaines due to it, but what may reſult from the *Abbreviation* of *Life*. It being an undenyable Truth, That the production of every *Child*, is if not an Advancer of the *Monarchy of Reaſon* in its own Perſon, the doubted *Subject* of others *Deceit*, and *Oppreſſion*. Humane *Wiſdom* being of little larger *Extent*, then what it is able to purchaſe and find room for through an *Incroachment* and Advantage made and taken of others *Folly* and *Defects*. And from this the *Whole World* comes to be ſo univerſally *Inhabited*, Every *Family* ſeeking reſt by

by *Evaſion*. It being as Naturall for *Strife* to abound where *Want* is as for *Strength* to prevail. Wherefore *Sin* muſt needs be an Effect if not of *Eating*, of *Exceſſe*: Through which *man* out-of *Love*, for *Himſelf*, came to *Robbe* others, And to obviate the *Differences*, could not but ariſe from *Inequality* in *Strength*, *Appetites*, and *Deſires*, *Government* was inſtituted. Towards whoſe Favour all *Lawes* both *Civill and Divine* are either taught, or do naturally incline. Yet if any in *Curioſity* deſire to make *ſcrutiny* into their own *Originall*, I cannot but with *Solomon* ſend them to the *Inſects* for their further Satisfaction, and perſwade them to be more ſtudious after the *Cauſes* of ſuch *Animalls* as the *Sun* doth yearly *Create* or *regenerate*. And to enquire whether *matter* may not be ſo *prepared* and adapted by us as it ſhall be Capable

of

of *Animation* through a propenſity to that regular and even proportion of *Weight and Meaſure*, naturally required by the *Firſt Agents of Life*. Nor can any Cauſe of Diſcouragement be well apprehended in the Proſecution of *Life's Originall*, through a more curious Inſpection into the *Production of Inſects*, which once perfectly ſurvey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the proſpect of *Our own beginning*. Since he that hath diſcovered the *Spring* by which a ſmall *Watch* is Inlived, not to be denyed the neater workmanſhip, cannot in reaſon be farre to ſeek what cauſeth and continues the Operations of a *Church-Clock*; Their *Motions* being one and the ſame, no leſſe then their *Engines*, though bound up in a ſmaller Volume, and ſupported by more *Leggs* and *Feet*. Nor are there found above one or two conſiderable

siderable *Obstructions* lying in the way of this endeavour. And those no further binding then a Commission received from *Custome* hath power to oblige. Of which the First is an *Implicite* and blinde adhering to the *Votes* and *Presidents* derived to us from *Antiquity*, not considering, There may not unpossibly lye as vast a *World* of *Truth* beyond this rotten *Barre*, as *Experience* hath shewn us of *Land* and *Nations*, which never fell within the Compasse of the *Old Maps* or these *Writers* Cognizance. And as this renders the further Indeavour after knowledge, a *Lost-Labour* in the Conceit of *Dunses*; So our Torrify'd-Brayn'd *Zealots*, through as great a *Mistake* in *Scripture* apprehend it as *Damnable*. Yet the *Reason* of the First, no lesse then the *Consciences* of the Latter might receive Satisfaction from *Dr. Hackwells Apology*,

were

were they capable of it. To which may be added, That ſince many *Words* and *Actions* recited of the *Patriarchs*, do in all Judgements deviate from the exacter Lines of *Morality* (The Principall, if not the only End of their Manifeſtation) What Caution can be given, or Aſſurance taken for their *Infallibility* in *Philoſophy*? the inculcation of which was never *intended*, But what is found ſaid in Relation to it, rather *accommodated* to the *vulgar Opinion*, then any *Imperative Truth*. From whence may be gathered, That *Joſhua's Bidding the Sun ſtand ſtill*, is no more Argument for the *Motion* of it, Then *Jacob's deluding his Brother* may be pleaded in the Juſtification of *Mine*. Wherefore He that out of a venerable Eſteeme of the *Sacred Text*, gives Credit to a *Prolongation* of the *Day*, and ſo a full performance of all the Ends and Pur-

Purpoſes for which the requeſt was made, it matters not in relation to *Faith*, whether it reſulted from the *Sun's* or the *Earth's Motion*. *Joſhua* being the *Generall* of an *Army* not a profeſſed *Philoſopher*. So no leſſe uncapable of a *Miſtake* in the *Mathematicks* then *Elijah* was in the Calculation of Gods *Servants* whom he ſummed up in his peculiar Perſon, till his *Arithmetick* was better regulated by the *Eſſence* of *Number*, &c. Nor did our *Saviour* diſcountenance this Opinion, when He according to the uſuall *Mode* of the Place, Did lift up his *Eyes towards Heaven*, Though he did know, and Teach us That the *Father* was not onely reſident in *Himſelf*, but together with all Things *In* and *Under* the *Earth*. As for *Other Rubbs* lying in the Way of a further *Inquiſition after Knowledge* (all being readier to caſt *Reproach* and *Inke* in the *Face* of a

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Projectour, then to assist for the present, or help in the Future, unlesse after *Death*) To *Improve* to the best Advantage what perhaps he has not strength alone to *produce*. I look upon them in *Some* as a Design to *guard* their *Callings* from *Inspection*: And in *Others* as an *Obstinate Ignorance* engendred out of *Shame* to Confess *Themselves* no lesse then their *Teachers*, to have for so many Ages, been Promoters *Of*, and satisfied *With* what now doth plainly appeare to be meere *Figments*, &c.

Fancy is the *Mould* and *Pencill* that shapes the *Forme*, and casts the *Colour* upon *Man* and *Beast*, according to the Pattern presented to it by the *Senses*. Though it may be look'd upon in the *Schooles*, under an inferiour *Notion*, where the *Custom* is, to be most *Fruitfull* in *Termes* when they are most *Barren*

of *Understanding*, Tying Knot upon Knot, when she findes her *Nailes* too *short*, for the *unravelling* of the First. Especially upon his Endeavours to enlarge *The Excellencies of Man* (whom in a high *Rant* she styles a *Little World*) above his *Fellow-Creatures*. And to make this good, places in one part of his *Head*, a receptacle for *Memory*, and others for *Invention*, *Reason*, &c. Besides a Number of *Mansions* more, Scituated in the *Heart* for *Vertues*, *Passions*, and *Affections*. Though upon a strict *Scrutiny the same Goods* may be found in the *Beast*, and farre more useful, and lesse Contaminated through a *Greasie-Diet*, and Exorbitant Pursuite after *Pleasure*, by which *Men* become *worse* then *Beasts*, gratifying their *Tast* at the Prejudice of all the rest of the *Senses*, the Naturall *Guardes* of *Safety*, yet manifest amongst the

more

more temperate *Indians*, reported (Like our *English Crowes*) to Smell *Gunpowder* at a great Diſtance, gayning nothing by the Change but an *Imperfect Reaſon*, which with That *Inchanted Horne* blown by the *Satyre*, doth terrifie more then Confirme or reſolve, ſuch as own and make uſe of it. Yet we paſſe over in the *Creature*, greater and more certain *Advantages*, without Notice or under Contempt. Forgetting, That if we allow them *Fancy*, which like a *Looking-Glaſſe* doth not only retaine the Outward *Figures* Senſe preſents us with, But doth reverberate thoſe *Cenſures* upon it, as are obſerved to perplex or quiet the *Paſſions* in both, What huge Advantage is left *Man* to boaſt of, more, Then that it may be Better *ſcituated*, or is of a *Greater Circumference* in *Us* then *Them*? Growing like the *Chryſtalline Humour* in the

Eyes quicker from a *Variation of Objects*. And hence cannot be denyed to reſult all the *Wiſdom* diſcernable in both, with which by reaſon of *Diſcourſe*, We are able to make the *Lowder Noyſe*, though *They* are not found *Quite ſilent*, and no leſſe ready then able in caſe of *Danger, to advice one the other*, as every *Fowler* can upon his Knowledg atteſt. Yet the whole Extent of both our *Capacities* lyes in no larger a *Circle*, then that of *Others* Follies. Onely in Things not yet fallen within the Compaſſe of *Experience* and in relation to *Prognoſtication*, or *Prediction*, the *Creature* hath the *Preheminence*, out of a more accurate *Vivacity* in *Senſe*.

The *World* labours of a *Double Quartane*, wherein the Number of *Good Dayes* (if any be) are far exceeded by The *Bad*. The *Serenity* of the *Spring* being overvoted through

through the *Scortching Heat* in *Summer*, and the *Cold* in *Winter*. Beſides the interruptions met with ariſing from her own private *Diſtempers*. The ſame diſmall *Fatality* attends *Youth* and *Age*. In which *Sickneſſe* and other *Calamities* ſuitable to both Seaſons cauſeth in all not onely a *Neceſſity*, but in ſome a *Deſire* to put themſelves upon The *Tryall of Death*, And return again into the *Lapp* of that *Earth* to and from whence all Things do in a Certain Viciſſitude Go, and Come; Which may authorize a Beliefe '*That all things were not Created for* 'their Own ſakes, *but the meer Inter-* 'eſt of Nature, *which abhors to be* 'Idle, *or to leave any in an Impreg-* 'nant Condition. And from hence may ariſe another *Conjecture*; That The *Moon* no leſſe then the *Stars* may be as well repleniſhed with *Inhabitants* as the *Earth*, and ſubject

to the ſame *Changes*, in relation to What it produceth Though *Stable* and ſo long permanent it *Self*, as *God* in his Eternall Decree hath determined they ſhall remain, Being ſubject to no *Diſſolution*, but from the Force of that *Command* did at firſt eſtabliſh them, together with all things extant. Among which, though ſome are obſerved to *Wear out and periſh*, they are as it were but The *Externall Ornaments* and *Houſhold-ſtuffe* which within a ſhort Revolution of Time do receive a freſh *Renovation* from the *Sun*, The higheſt and moſt ſplendid reſult of *God's Beauty* our Mortall Eyes (unſupported by *Faith*) are able to Diſcern.

Which may afford Cauſe of *Pitty* for ſome of the *Heathen* that made It the Object of Their *Worſhip*, who finding it the *Cauſe* of ſuch viſible *Reſurrections* preſumed it might be the *Originall* of all *Things*. Imagining

ning the *Power* of *Continuance* and *Preservation* equall to that of *Creation*, not being able to see higher, for want of the light of *The Word* of *God*.

It may be no Improbable *Paradox*, That where the *Earths magneticall Effects* cease, There some other no lesse *Active* power begins to operate with a like Motion another way. Which granted, it can be no Prodigious Conjecture That such *Birds* as are observed to *Inne* or *Board* in this *Clime* onely for some certain *months*, maintain a like Temporary *Commerce* with other *Planets*, as they are found to do amongst us, according to the respective *Advantages* Nature hath taught them to make of *Times* and *Seasons*. And that their Passage is without much *Difficulty* may be asserted from the *Punctuall Dayes* they keep yearly to *Come* and *Go* in.

Not possibly to be observed were they obnoxious to any Obstruction from *Wind* and *Weather*, or the least other Contingency lying in their *Rode*: Which the revolution of a shorter Space then Men are found to live could not chuse but discover. And that the *Place they come from* relates to the *Earth* admits the most probable Tryall from *us*, which being an *Iland* may best observe whether they do appear first by the *Seaside* or in the *Midland*: and if the latter (as I have heard it often affirmed the *Cuckow* is universally seen the Second of *Aprill*) The Assertion may be allowed, in reason, the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unquestionable *Truth*, That *Woodcocks* are some Years in great plenty by the *Shore* in *Norfolk* cannotbe denyed. But yet it is as manifest, That at the same time their Appearance is as numerous in the most

In Land Counties. Nor is it Neceſſary that they ſhould all deſcend in a *Line.* Though Thouſands of *Feldefers* and *Thruſhes* have been ſeen within the Compaſſe of a *mile* and none round about. Nor doth *Weariſomneſſe* appear about any but ſuch as come off from the *ſea*; (which may not unpoſſibly have miſtaken their Way) or any Signes of a New *Reſurrection*, their *Plumage* being Smooth, and *Bodies plump*; So that I my Self have ſeen both *Swallowes* and *Hobbys build* and *tred* upon their firſt Appearance, as if they had no other buſineſſe in this *World* then to *Ly-in*; and produce their *Young*, as *Fiſhes* are noted to change their *Coaſt* upon the like Arrand, &c.

I Believe it poſſible for *Birds* not of the ſame *Kinde* and *Plume* to Engender with Succeſs and to an huge *Imbelliſhing of Nature*, and as great

an *Improvement* of her *ſtore*. And this was by ſome Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment before theſe Wars, that had *Large Cages of Wyer* wherein were put together onely *Hens* of *ſome ſorts*, and *Cocks* of *another*. How it did anſwer Expectation I know not, yet am Confident it might ſucceed, eſpecially in reference to thoſe nouriſhed through a like Suſtenance, ſince my Self ſaw an *Hawke* owned the *Plume and ſhape* between a *Hobby* and a *Taſſel-Gentle*. Nor is it contrary to the grain of Probability to endeavour a Breed betwixt *Hares* and *Coneys*, an *Ordinary Cat* and a *Civet*; The Head of which *ſpecies* is by the reſemblance of the *muſcles* no leſſe then all *ſignes and geſtures* of the *Lyon*. And between whom there remains leſſe Difference in proportion then an *Iriſh-Grey-Hound* compared with a *Lap-Dog*. *Animals*

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no leſſe then *Plants* receiving notorious Changes from the *Climates* out of which they were at firſt tranſported, proving for the moſt part *Largeſt* towards the *Sun*. Nor is it doubted but a *Dog-Fox* and an *Ordinary Bitch* will generate. As I heard the *Laſt Marqueſſe* of *Hambleton's Father* verifie he ſaw in *Scotland*. Nor did thoſe *Huge* and *Strang-Headed Deer* ſent for Preſents to *King James*, fail to *Cohabit* with *Ours* and *have young*. Now he that would obſerve the *Affinity* in the *Food* and *Bigneſſe* of *Beaſts* and *Birds*, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Abſence of their own kind they might eaſily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon *Pride*, and the diſmall Effects it draws upon *Mankind*, I had all the *Poſtures* and *Evidences* brought in againſt thoſe arraigned for this *Diabolicall*

Paſ-

Paßion acted before me by a *Turkey-Cock*. Who ſtood priding himſelfe no leſſe in the *Sun* and proſperities of the *Spring* then *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace. From whence I began to Conclude it *Naturall*, and ſo not radically Evill, No more then *Anger* or *Love*. Therefore under the *Notion* of an Enquiry into the Advantages *God* hath given us above Others; A perfect *Knowledge* of our *own good Parts* is ſo far remote from *Pride* that it is rather a *Spur* to *Vertue*, And ſo onely Depraved not Invented by the *Divell*, Who with all his *Chimiſtry* is not able to Convert the *ſeeds* of a Naturall Effect into the *Root* of *Evill*; Though he hath perverted This, as Many things elſe into *Malignity againſt God*. The leaſt of whoſe *Beauty* is ſufficient to ad-

advance our Thoughts above *our ſelves*, in which Caſe, *It is* rather a *Rapture*, then a *ſin*.

Characters.

Characters & Letters, &c.

A Character of *Honour.*

Honour is one of the grand *Impostures* of the Earth; through whose false Splendour, *unadvised Ambition* is, as it were, *Trepan'd* out of its *Life*, *Liberty*, &c. No *Folly* transcending theirs, esteeme themselves onely *Happy* in a vaine *Title*, or *Syllable*; at the beginning pronounced by the *Prince*, and after reverberated by the *Meager*, empty, and hollow *Eccho*, of the *insignificant Rabble*, no lesse ready, upon the *Change* of *Fortune*,

Fortune, to *Murther*, then *Father*, all *Markes* of *Desert*; to those very *Particular* ones, their own Indulgence had informed. *Opinion* being for the most part printed in such *blind Ink*, as it hardly remaines legible, to the *Second Generation*. The Merit of the first *Proprietor* becomming mortify'd by *Oblivion*, or quite dissipated, and lost in the *Wilder Fields* of a no lesse *Numerous*, then *Vitious* Posterity. So remote from improving any *Talents* left them by their *Ancestours*, as like the improvident Usurer in the *Gospel*, they do not only expose them to *Rust*, and *Cankers*, but waste the Estate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The *Promoter* of their *Family*, becomming by this meanes, an Occasion of the *Ruine* of it. It lying in the *Nature*, no lesse then the *Custom*

of

of *Honour*, to put as unreasonable an *Excize* on the *Vices*, as the *Vertues* of its *Owners*. I never thought it *Prudence*, or *Discretion*, to articulate over-severely on the worst of *Modes* I have had the *Good*, or *Ill Fortune* to be *Born* and *Bred* under; yet it seemes to Crosse the Grayn of *Wisdom*, if not of *Candid Charity*, to *arraign as guilty of Absurdity*, all we finde in ordinary Practise *abroad*, though on the other side the *Pale* of *Christianity*. And for a particular instance; That, used amongst the *Turks*: where no *Title* but what belongs to the *Emperour*, is made *Hereditary*.

"*Honour being hardly managable* "*within the Compasse of Decency, by* "*any are not perfect in the Steps that* "*lead to it*. Splendid *Epithets*, where there resides no reall *Ability* in the Party to deserve them, Cheating the *Beholders*, by an Expectation of

more

more Vertue, and the *Poſſeſſour* with *leſſe*, then his *Paraſites* (a Vermine *Capitall Fortunes* are infeſted with-all) may have poſſibly inſinuated into his formerly *ſubborned imagination*. But to deſcend to a more exact *Definition* of *Honour*: It is a meere *Ray* or *Beame* darted from the *Favour* of a *Prince*, who in one body contains the *Abſtract* of all *Delated Dignities*. And the Reward of every Deſert is either *Reall*, or by him ſuppoſed, in the *Nature* or *Actions* of thoſe he thinks fit to advance: Amongſt which none are more glorious, then they in *Turky*; where *Worth* is alwayes found the *Antecedent* to every *Reward*. Thoſe in *Chriſtendom*, that relate wholly to the *Paſſions*, and *Affections* of the *Donor*, not appearing ſo *Naturall*, but *further remote* from the purer and *unſophiſticated* Elements of *Majeſty*, then what is found inherent in

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the Party. The true Cauſe of *Advancement* amongſt us, being, commonly ſo *triviall*, and *foule*, as for Shame, they forbore to recite it in their *Patent*. From whence, ſome may Conclude, thoſe *Diſparities* amongſt Men proceeded at firſt, like *Hills* and *Dales*, from the *Deluge of Pride*, So long, a *Succeſſion* of *Government*, hath powred upon the *Face* of the *Earth*. *Courts* by ſuch *Canting Termes* advancing their particular *intereſt*; which would be abated, were the *Devourers*, in an equall *Parallel* with thoſe they *feed on*. The *Rabble*, for want of a more *elated Prudence*, imagining their *Governours* to proceed, like the *Gyants of old*, from ſome *Diviner Extraction* then their *Own*. Not *wiſe* enough to apprehend, That *Honour* hath no advantage, *really*, in it Selfe, but what it is able to deduce from the *Lower Condition*, and *baſeneſſe* of

Others.

Others. All *Titles*, to *Thoſe* relating to *God Himſelf*, as they were *abſent*, before the *Creation*; So Reaſon informs us, they could not be *Preſent* now, were there no Creatures, endued with ſo much underſtanding, as to be able to pronounce them. The moſt relucent *Honour* being *Offuſcated*, and *blinded* in the *Shades* of *Solitude*. Wherefore, if it had a *Name*, it wanted an *Owner*, till ſomething was made willing to promote it. No *Age*, ever repreſented it more *Naked* to the *World*, then *This* we live in. Whereas the *Jewes* do in *Italy*, by the *Ancient Roman Coynes*, So, the *Grave Viſages* of 25 *Biſhops* have been ſtruck off, and put upon many *Thouſand Presbyterians*; whereupon the *Image*, and *Superſcription* of the *Primitive Church*, is quite defaced, and *Obliterated*, through the *Impreſſe* they are exchanged for: which ownes no worth,

worth, but from the *Gravity* of the *First*. Being it ſelf, of no greater *Antiquity*, then *John Calvin*, who did not but with ſome Difficulty as *Boyes do Giggs*, whip this *Younger Government* out of a *Word*, taught for many *Ages* to ſignifie *Epiſcopacy* onely; making it currant in *Geneva*. Now, if it be no leſſe frequent in the *Practiſe* of Men, then in the *Dialect* of the *Scriptures*, to *rob God of his Honour*; why ſhould any, but meerly *Mortall*, place *Stability* in it? Eſpecially, ſince the *Traſh* theſe Earthly *Tumours* ſwell withall, is by the Baſeſt of, *&c.* render'd *ſo perſpicuous*.

Valour and *Cowardice*.

I Should much wonder how *Valour* and *Cowardice*, both ſtrangers, if not Contrary to the Practice of

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undiſtracted Nature, could paſſe ſo long without the *Errata*, in the *Place-Book* of *virtue* and *vice*: But that I finde it, *The Deſign* of *Policy*, to *advance*, or *abate* the Credit of all things found *Uſeful* or *Deſtructive* to her *own*, or the *Generall* utility: And, where ſhe can bring in the leaſt Colour for *it to paint*, what is neceſſary to Commerce, with the *gratefull Approbation* of Religion; And to render the Contrary in the *Dark Senſe*, and *Black Characters* of *Hell*. Allowing all Supports as *Decent* and *quadrating* with the *Beauty* of Holineſs, though *Above* or *Againſt the Lights of Reaſon*, if found, any way requiſite, to ſuſtain *Government*. Of ſuch force is *Cuſtom*, that it is able, through the Aſſiſtance of *Credulity*, to *ſtifle*, and *trample* upon the *Senſes* themſelves.

Now, though it may be no *Indiſcretion*

cretion in a *Patient*, to ſuffer himſelf for his *Recovery*, to be deluded by his *Phyſitian*; yet out of a *Panique* Fear, or effeminate *Nicety*, to ſwallow more *Drugs*, and in greater *Quantities* then is unavoydably neceſſary, may appear a *Madneſſe*, ariſing from the more *Dreadfull*, then *Dangerous Phantaſmes* muſtered up by the *Fumes* of a formerly-ſuborned *Melancholy*; rather then the *Subſtantiall Dictates* af an *unſophiſticated Judgement*, which a *Wiſe man* may *retain*, *and feaſt himſelf with*, though for *Manners ſake*, and to avoyd the Danger, no leſſe then Shame, impending *Singularity*, *he may ſeem* to own the moſt *univerſall Opinion*.

Now to ſhew, how *Policy*, no leſs then *Religion*, impoſeth upon frail *Humanity*, in both the Fore-mentioned Particulars (Though *to the apprehenſion of Senſe*, abſolutely *repugnant*

nant one to the other) they are ſcituated as *near Damnation*, that appear *Overdaring* in the proſecution of *private Revenge*; as ſuch who out of *Remiſſeneſſe*, and *Fear*, *betray The Cauſe of their Country*; in Defence of which, is placed, under all *Profeſſions* extant, the *Higheſt ſtep of our Duty to God and our Neighbour*. Which cannot be denyed to *ſtand further remote in Nature*, then what really Concerns *Our ſelves*: found *recorded* in *Job*, by the *Divell*; a far *Ancienter Philoſopher* then the *ſo-much-venerated Ariſtotle*. From whence we may Conclude, 'That 'Reſolution and Dread inſtituted by 'Nature at firſt, for the Vindication 'and ſafety of every reſpective Indi-'viduall, are ſince Tyranny and Pro-'priety have forced us into Commu-'nalties, reduced by Common Conſent 'of Law, and Conveniency into a Pub-'liaue ſtock, for the Preſervation of

All.

'*All. So as we are ſuffered, to own*
'*no more in reference to our ſelves,*
'*then Prudence is able to filtch out of*
'*the Treaſury of the State* : and that upon no ſlighter a Penalty, then *Law* doth inflict; Which found too dim-ſighted to penetrate further, then *Externall Evidence* can reach; *Religion*, whoſe *Reſults* (and thoſe no weak ones) lye in *Conſcience*, ſupplyes the place of a *Diviner-Guard*; Brandiſhing like the Angell in *Paradiſe*, the *flaming ſword of Hell*: Which operates more or leſs, upon the *Affections*, proportionall to the *Tincture*, received from *Education*. Not ſeldom *Proof* (as we find in *Hereticks*) againſt the *Dictates of Reaſon* her Self; *Nothing being harder* to be *loſt*, or *Convinced* of *Falſhood* then *Opinions* ſucked in with the Nourſes *Milk*. And this may raiſe an *Uſe* of *Caution*, in relation to what we call *Puſillanimity*, and *Va-*

lour. Which in a *Naturall* and primitive *ſenſe*, ſignifie onely *Evaſion.* And where that will not ſerve in order to our own Preſervation, a *vigorous and ſtout Reſiſtance* to the *loſſe* of *Life* it Self, as is manifeſt in every *Creature*, in the abſence of hope; and therefore impoſſible to be found Wanting, in the pure and *unſuborned Nature of Man.* And ſo in the *primitive Conſtruction* uncapable of any *Forreigner Interpretation*, then what is deduceable from our own *judgement*, without reference to *Fame*, or *Reward.* Termes *unintelligible*, during the *Originall Felicity*: And before the *Thirſt* after *Generation* had ſwelled the *World*, into ſuch an *Ocean* of *Inhabitants*, as could not be Kept within the Compaſs of *Moderation*, but by *Mounds* and *Bancks*; in the making of which all things are imployed that own the power *to Terrifie* or *Flatter*

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the *Rabble* into *Obedience*, without bearing any *Nicer Reſpect*, to ſingle *Individualls*, then through *Evading*, or *Over-ruling* the *Law*, *Power* or *Prudence* is able to purchaſe to *themſelves*, by *Maſtering*, *Flattering*, or *Contemning publick Fame*. After which, it may be ſometimes leſs policy to run, then not to be too greedy, to give it welcom when it courts us: *Opinion* being a Bird oftner catcht by *Chance*, then *Endeavour*. Nor ſhall any one that carryes her on his *Fiſt*, ever want *Envy*, or *Scratching* by Others. And he that hath but the Patience, to attend *Good* or *bad Report* to the end of the *race*, ſhall obſerve them like *Cocks* to change their *Oddes*: one *unlucky Blow* being able to *depreſſe* more, and draw a greater *Concourſe* of *Abettors* to the *other ſide*, then *Twenty* as ſtrong and *probable endeavours*, without *Succeſſe* can poſſibly advance. Or,

if this fail, the *Gamesters* together with what they strove for, will by the hand of *Time*, be laid in *Oblivion*. Whereas the reall *Wounds*, and sensible *Inconveniencies* accruing from a too Serious *Attention*, and exact Observance of the Various *Cadences* of the *Trumpet of Fame*, subject to be put out of *Tune*, by the Change of every *Blast*, do not onely exceed the *Cure* of the *Chierurgeon*, but all endeavours to that of *Wisdom* it Self. Nor hath *Policy* any cheaper *Trash* to load the opposite-*Scale* withall, then *Honour* and *Titles*; which like *Horse-Bells*, onely affect the *Eare*, as *Diamonds* do the *Eyes*; encreasing, rather then lessening the *Burthen* of *Life*: which, with its Concomitance *Envy*, *Danger*, and *Jealousie* signifies nothing, *proportionable* at least, to what the *Purchase* requires; Seldom enjoy'd of the *Owner* long, without *Controversie*;

verſie; unleſſe by dying in *Poſſeßion* he cuts off all contrary *Claims*. Wherefore ſuch as have the *Dexterity*, to paſſe their Dayes, at the leaſt Expence of *Trouble* and *Conveniency*, may be truely ſaid, to *husband Diſcretion* beſt. Nor are they likely to be *miſled*, in ſuch a *vaſt number of Fooles* and *Madmen*, as are daily obſerv'd, to Sacrifice their own *Eaſe* and Content to promote the *Ambition* and Small *Plots* of Others; Grounding their Hopes upon thoſe, that have no Aſſurance Themſelves. But this runs ſo contrary to the grain of *Practice*, as it may not unpoſſibly, ſet ſuch *Teeth* on *Edge*, as are able through *Detraction*, or *Power*, to blaſt the *Authour* of this *Advice*.

A Letter writ to diſſwade Mr. ——— *from a* Duell.

Sir,

I Shall, at this time, conceal, what I apprehend of your *Quarrell*, and the *Circumſtances* that did at firſt produce it: Leſt I ſhould fall into a *Phyſitians indiſcretion*, who comming to one labouring of a *Fever*, did conſume the time, In telling the *Patient*, The *Cauſes* of his *Diſtemper* were *Drink* and *Eviſſ Company*: which though poſſibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a *Meager Impertinency*, before the *party* had his *Cure*; ſince no place is now Left for *prevention*. And as *Phyſick* is oppoſed to the Defects incident to *bad Dyet*, and *Diſorder*: So *Counſell* hath been obſerved, to *Moderate*, and palliate, though not *Cure* thoſe of *Indiſcretion*; ariſing for

for the moſt part from an *Inexperience* in the *exact knowledge* of our *own Fame*, no leſſe then that of *Others*; And *where it may be, or is Situated*, with the ſmalleſt prejudice to *Conſcience*, or giving the leaſt interruption to the *Proſpect* of *Self-preſervation*, the *Firſt Reſult* in the *Intention* of *Nature*, and left as of *greateſt Intendment*, to the Care of *Prudence*. From whence I have been taught, that it is poſſible, for *Phyſick* to be *welcome*, though *Diſtaſtefull*; but that *Counſell* ſeldom meets any more favourable Conſtruction then *Scorn*, from the *Receiver*; & an Opinion of *Preſumption in Him* that Ventures *to give it*; eſpecially, if it meets not with a *candid Nature*: Which hoping to find in *You*, I ſhall ſo much tranſgreſſe the *voyce* of *Diſcretion*, as to ſuffer my Self *in Love* to become an *Arbitrator*, between the *Honour* and *prudence* of a

Friend, ſo far, as to maintain, *That Such* as *animate you* to a *Formall Revenge*, do out of *Forgetfulneſſe*, or *Want* of *Religion*, forbear to Calculate the *Danger*, no leſſe then *Impiety*, that *for ever* Cleaves to ſuch *hands*, as are found *once polluted in Blood*: And, That thoſe violate the *Dictates* of *Piety* and *Diſcretion*, (by *Wiſdome* eſteemed the moſt Conſiderable part of *Manhood*) that Contradict it. For to uſe their own *canting*, (no where to be found in the *Dialect* of *Antiquity*) *He* hath *given* you an *Affront*; and ſuch an one, as may not *decently* be paſſed-by, without a *Formall Satisfaction*; which is but the *ſingle* and *wild Opinion* of ſome *under-graduates* in the *Arts* of *Living*. Yet, admit it a *Debt*, due in the *Court* of *Honour*, may it not as well be diſcharged by your *Friend* or *Servant*, as *Your ſelf*? Parties leſſe agitated by *Intereſt*

tereſt and *Paſſion*, and therefore the likelyer, to deal a *Revenge* ſo evenly, as He ſhall have as little cauſe to *bragge* as *You* to *repent*. A thing you can never promiſe *your Self*, if contrary to the *Injunctions* of *God* and the *Examples* of the moſt *prudent people* you proportion out your *Satisfaction* in the *Field*. Where you camot but deliver into the Cuſtody of *Blind Fortune*, not onely your *Life* but *Eſtate*: As juſtly belonging to *poſterity*, as ever your *Anceſtours* made it *yours*. Which by this *Mad-Knight-Errantry* you hazard to *Undo*. I am ſure all *Wiſe minds* will quadrate with this. And if the *Fools* of the *preſent Age*, pretend to any *Diſcoveries* of Wayes to Honour, New and Untrod, by the Ancients, Let'um follow them, to the furtheſt *Extent* of their *Lives* or *Lunacy*. Whileſt you hearken, to the *Graver Advice* of *reaſon*. Which

may *informe you*, He hath offer'd an *Abuse* already, and will you hazard upon *equall Terms* the receiving a *Greater* ? Indeed if a *Requitall* had been endeavoured at the *Instant* it might have rendred you more excusable before *God* and *Man* : But that *opportunity* omitted ; it were more *Wrong* to your *Charity*, then *Vindication* of *Valour*, *in cold Blood* to call back *Revenge* : As if a Worse *Christian* upon *Meditation*, then when irritated by *Fury* and *Passion*. Neither is *Honour* to be purchased, in *Single* and self-perswading Combates, because no *Marks* of them appear in *Antiquity* ; where many are found Dead, but not one, to my remembrance, upon so impertinent a Quarrell, as *Words*. Yet we may conclude from the foul *Expressions* in *Oratours*, That the *Mouthes* of the *Gentry* were then none of the *Cleanest*. He that Consults former

Hi-

Hiſtories, may find, *That ſome* have gained more repute from a *Retreat*, then *others* could obtain by a *Won-Field*. And what is a *Retreat*, I pray you, but a *Fine Word* for *Running away*? *Fierceneſſe* being proper to *Beaſts*, whereas a *Neat Evaſion* belongs peculiarly to *Men*. Of which, I ſhall inſtance this, as now freſh in my *Memory*. A *Gentleman* lying, like you, under the repute of an *Injury*, did meet his *Enemy*, and ſhot him with a *Piſtoll* ſtopped full of *Dung*, whereupon he cryed *He was ſlayn*, which ſet him *further* back in the *Opinion* of the *World*, then his former *Vapouring* had *advanced him*, when the *Excrement* the *Dagge* was *loaden* with, appeared to the *Senſes* of the *Standers-by*. And for this, the *Wit* of it's *Deviſer* was highly commended. Another return'd this *Anſwer*, with a like Succeſſe, to a *Younger Brothers Challenge*;

That

That if he could prove his *Losse* as great as His, should he *Kill* or be *Killed*, he would gladly accept it; Otherwise he did not think it *reason*, to venture his Life, against one did want *Necessaries*, and so might seek *Death*, no lesse out of *Discontent*, then *Gallantry*: which *Himself*, that wanted nothing, had no cause to do. All that remaines is but your Pardon for this *Boldnesse*, which I most seriously Desire. Remaining in the mean time, no lesse Your *Faithfull Friend*, Then,

Sir,

Your, &c.

A Letter to Mr.—— in hope to diſſwade Him from going a Colonel *under* Count Mansfield.

SIR,

I Cannot but own it, for a high *Preſumption*, to offer *ſuch ſuddain* and *crude Conceptions* in a *Buſineſſe* where I preſume, you have employed, not only your *Owne*, but the moſt *Serious Advice* of *Your Friends*. To the *Abilities* and *Dignity* of whom, though I am forced to give place, I may not juſtly be accounted behind them in *Affection* to your *Selfe*, or *Affaires*. Wherefore having received ſo great an encouragement from your Commands, no leſſe then a *Stimulation* from my particular Deſire to *Serve* you, I ſhall according to my *ſmall Experience*, and the *meaner Abilities*

I have found in me, to employ it to the *beſt Labour*, to inform You, *Theſe Corrupt times* have rendred many things *Neceſſary* to the *German Warres*, are no wayes *ſuteable* to your *Complexion*, or *Fortune*, which your *Generall*, being a *Stranger*, cannot in probability, *advance*, without *Offending* his own, and *ſinning* againſt an *Article of Policy*, and *Nature*. Nor ſhall you, though loaden with the Higheſt *Merit*, render your *Return* more gratefull to Your *Naturall Prince*: *King James* having alwayes numbered *Souldiers* amongſt thoſe, he eſteemes *the worſt of Men*, and moſt *formidable* to *His Perſon*. The Expedition being by *Him* rather *Connived* at, then *Approved*, out of Hope, by this meanes, to facilitate the two *Treaties* of a *Match* with *Spain*, and the *Reſtitution* of the *Pallatinate*: which obtained, (according to the *Mode* of

Pu-

Puſillanimous Princes) all endeavours will be uſed to diſcharge the State of *You* and *Your Companions*, as a *Society* moſt ſuperfluous *during Peace*; the only Thing *Our King* doth ſtudy to promote: To whoſe Eares a *Drum* is more terrible then *Thunder*, and the *Report* of a *Canon* then the *voyce of God Himſelfe*. Which, (if *Our Church-Men* may be credited) doth at this Day cry for *vengeance*, againſt the Cruelty, exerciſed upon *Chriſtians*; eſpecially from *England*, by an *unanimous Conſent* choſen the *Head* of the *Proteſtant League*, till his *Majeſty* had forfeited that *Honour* to the *brisker Aſſiſtance* given by the *French*. Now, can you think he ſhould indulge *valour* as a *vertue* in *another*, when nothing is more manifeſt, then that he labours to expunge all *Marks*, or *Occaſions* for it in *Himſelfe*, or any about *Him* ſo farre,

farre, as to *Anſwer* my *Lo.* —— when he came from the *Warres*, and deſired to *Kiſſe* his *Hand*, That he feared he would *bite* it, and therefore bad he ſhould be *muffled*: Nor is it our *Kings mode* alone, (that never made uſe of *Souldiers* unleſſe to ſlight them) But that of *Spaigne*; under whom the moſt deſerving have dyed in *Diſgrace*, if not by *Poyſon*. And amongſt the *Catalogue of Thoſe* ſtand *written with great Characters* in the *Kalender* of *Fame*, few or *none*, are regiſtred for *Saints*, or *Happy*. It being paſt *Controverſie*, That, no *Warre* can be *called Juſt*, beares not a *reall Tincture* of *Defenſative*. And whoſoever hath, or ſhall have enterprized the Contrary, though his *Name* be never ſo richly enamelled on the Ring of *Fortune*, and Himſelf placed at the *Top* of her *Wheele*, yet he is but the *Scourge* of *God*: and doth for the moſt

moſt part, fall, when he thinks himſelfe moſt capable of ſtanding. Like *Charles* the 5th, that was by the *Duke of Saxony*, (a Family of his own rayſing) beaten *over* the *Alps*, by *Torch-light*, and himſelf like the *Sword of Goliah*, wound up into a *High Contempt* of this *World*, and layd in a *Monaſtery*. The *Sins* and *Overſights* of *Gods Children* are ſeverely puniſhed. But it is as true, That nothing coſts dearer, then the *Bloud* of his *Saints*. As may appear by ſuch *Horſe-Leaches*, as have been applyed to his *Church*; from whence a double quantity hath been drawn, by ſome unexpected meanes. But if theſe Reaſons ſavour too much of *Theology*, Conſider how unpoſſible it is to do any thing, without the *Love* of the *Common Souldier abroad*, and how *unſafe* He muſt needes be at *home* that enjoyes it; There being nothing more uſuall, with

with *Princes*, then to be jealous of their *Liberators*. Manifeſt in *Byron*; who, after he had ſet the Crown upon *Henry* the fourths head, loſt his *own*, out of a no more pious reaſon, then that upon a *Contrary provocation*, he might have removed it to *another*. And to ſhew of what vile eſteeme *Souldiers* are in the dayes of *Peace*; I will not ſay (though I have heard it) that the *Judges*, after the *Iriſh Warres*, were given it in *Charge*: yet can aſſure you, they hanged *Souldiers* for *Faults*, which, *Others* (thought of more uſe in Peace) did *ſcape*, or obtained *pardon* for. If ſo *unhappy*, as to receive a *Wound* in your *Perſon* or *Credit*, it remains *Yours*, without the leaſt *Diminution*. If *Honour*, Cuſtome ſhares it between your *Country*, and He that *Commands* in *Chiefe*. Who, being a *Forreyner*, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or by imploying

ploying you on *Desperate* Service, to *Conclude Fame and your Life together*. I know, your *Resolution* is too well lyned by *Philosophy* against the Storms of *Danger*, to admit a Parly with any *Force* but that of *Reason*: wherefore I forbear to *paynt* them, lest I should seem to scare *you with Feares*, are for many yeares, lest to be terrible to *my Selfe*. Who have long since thought it *Ridiculous*, to *Court Sleep* by *Opiums*, and *protract* Death by *Cordialls*; which is but the *Head* of the same Species, being both the effect of an *unavoydable Lassitude*. Yet though *Life* is imposed upon Mortalls *without*, if not *against* their *Consent*, it cannot be denyed the strongest *Result* of the Highest *Wisdom*, to *Situate Your Selfe so*, as it may consume *at the most ease*, and with the least *Perturbation*; which is not to be expected from such a *Flaring* and intempe-

rate

rate a Courſe, as that of a *Souldier:* that can make *choyce* of no *Friend* nor *Enemy*, but what the *State* aſſignes Him; or proportion his *Pitty* or *Juſtice*, to his own *Morality*, but their *Ambition* and *Jealouſie*, that Command in Chief. To whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the Grayn of *Prudence* it ſelf. That *arbitrary Government* you ſo much complain of *at home*, being the beſt you can in *Reaſon*, expect to finde, in an *Army abroad*; Where, the *Streſſe* of *Diſcipline* lies more upon the Adminiſtration of *Severity*, then *Juſtice*. Such as are reported to liſt themſelves under the *Black Prince of Darkneſſe*, draw Articles before they Conſigne their Bloud; And have a Circle enchanted, with a *Power to protect them:* whereas a *Souldier* hath nothing to plead for, againſt *actuall* obedience, but the narrow

Cir-

Circumference of *Protection*, that lies in the will of a *Generall*. To whom, the *Vertue* and *Valour* of his *Officers* is no leſſe *formidable*, in relation to his *particular Jealouſies*, then the *Vices* and *Cowardice*, of his meaner *Souldiers*, are thought *pernicious to Succeſſe* in the Field. Wherefore no *Prince* deſerves ſuch *Honourable Attendance* as thoſe, that Head their *Armies* themſelves. *Generaliſſimo's* like *Stepfathers*, carrying no other *Naturall affection*, but for the *Advancement* of their own *Glory*. So as they eſteem, all *inferiour Merit*, as an *Intruſion* upon *Theirs*: It being ordinary with *Cuſtom*, to award *Fame* to ſuch as have leaſt deſerved it; and *aſperſe* with *Infamy*, thoſe of more *Glorious* Merit. I confeſſe *Neceſſity* cannot onely abate the *Edge* of theſe *Reaſons*; but turne their *Poynts* againſt the Urger. Yet, ſince

ſince it is not impoſſible, but that the *Electour* may have miſcarried in his *Allegeance* towards the *Emperour*, *it cannot be indiſcreet* or *impertinent* to mind you, of the *Hazard* and ſmall *reward* they commonly are capable of, that render themſelves *Arbitrators* of a *Forreign Difference*; I *do comply with you*, in all the *Pitty*, *Prayers*, and *Contributions* can be offered for the Reſtitution of the *Vertuous Lady Elizabeth*: yet ſhall reſerve *my Perſon* to beſtow upon the *Preſervation* of my *Country*, in the quarrell of which, I can onely juſtifie, the ſpilling of my *own Blood*, or that of others. The univerſall imployment of a *Souldier*, *not being yet legally made out to me*, by any *Injunction* either *Morall*, or *Divine*. The Practice of the *Switzers* in relation to Forreign *Quarrells*, appearing as remote from *Chriſtian Charity*, as *Natural Prudence*. It cannot

be

be denyed, but That *Souldiers* are neceſſary, during the Diſtracted times of *Invaſion*: So it is as true, That few *Callings* are looked upon with more *Diſdain*, when a *Nation* enjoyes an abſolute *Tranquillity*. Wherefore it can be no Act of *Diſcretion*, to inrole your *ſelf*, under a *Profeſſion*, onely in eſteem, during the *Worſer Ages*, and not the *Beſt*. Wherein *maims* are conſidered rather as *marks* of an *inconſiderate* and brutiſh *Valour*, then a temperate and *adviſed Prudence*. Were You thrown upon it, by the *Iron Hornes* of an unavoydable *Compulſion*, or flattered into it, out of a more then probable *Aſſurance* of an *Honourable Advantage*; Something might be objected to the Prayers of Your *Friends*, and contrary Deſires of your *Enemies*: who may not unpoſſibly tempt you, into this *uncertain Hope*, out of a Deſign, to rob you of all you *really enjoy*. Con-

Conſider your *Education*, how much a Stranger it hath been, to the *incommodious Treatment* the *Field* doth afford: Out of whoſe *Verge*, it is more decent and ſafe, ſtill to preſerve your Selfe, then, at any time to retire, though upon the higheſt *Provocation*; of whoſe legitimacy, your Enemies from whom *you part*, will be the *Arbitrators*, and not your *Friends*, to whom *you return*. *Warre* being a *turbulent* and *deſtructive Calling*, with more *Credit* and *Safety* alwayes neglected, then at any time *forſaken*. He that never fought, receiving a fairer *Encomium* from *Charity*, then a *Captain* that hath deſerted his *Poſte*. Nor doth a *Colonel* ſtand for more, then a ſingle *Wheele*, in the Frame of an *Army*, where the *Generall* remaines *Heir* to all *Deſert*. —— The reſt is loſt.

A

A Letter to Mr. W. P.

THe continuance of your *Acquaintance* is the higheſt Pinnacle of my Ambition. And from whence I am not onely tempted, but do willingly ſubmit to the loweſt of your *Commands*. In the purſuance of which, I came on purpoſe, to meet you at B.--loaden with the ſtrongeſt *Advice*, ſo weak a judgement is able to man-out. But I find, Your own *Wiſdom* hath given me the *Opportunity*, to ſpare my *Engliſh*; By diſcovering to you, without the help of a Proſpective, or the dearer *prejudice* of a *Tryall*, what I found verified through many Yeares *Experience*, *viz.* That *Honourable Perſons*, like *too great Fires*, may *warm* and *comfort* ſuch as are Content only to *ſerve* them at a *Diſtance*: But *blaſt* the *Parts*, and *con-*

ſume the *Fortunes* of thoſe are found to *attend* them in any *neerer relations*. Who gayn, for the moſt part like the *Birds* that follow the *Crocodile*, no richer *Reward*, then the *Reverſions* of *their Teeth*. It being uſuall with theſe *Monſters* in *Nature*, to eſteem none capable of *Deſert*, but ſuch, as *Fortune*, or *Baſeneſſe* hath made neceſſary to their *Vices*, or *Power*. The *Firſt* of which, is as much below *the Breeding*, as the *Other*, is the *Candour of a Gentleman*: To whom, it is *incongruous*, to *leave* the *Honour he* was born to, at the foot of that *Ladder*, he hopes to *aſcend* by, to a *greater*. Neither, have they that are *inſtrumentall* to their *Rapine*, a more *noble* imployment, then *thoſe Beaſts* reported of in the *Indies*: who hunt the prey for the *Lyons*, and after by his ſtrength they are ſubdued, muſt reſt *ſatisfied* with what the *Covetouſneſſe* of their *Maſter*

ſter ſhall leave undevour'd.

For my *Selfe*, as none can, with Affection, look upon the *Gulph*, hath ſwallowed up his *Felicity*: So I remain in ſo high a *Feud* with *Greatneſſe*, as, if I did not find [*Lord*] in my *Daily Prayers*, I ſhould not *name* it (in relation to *Servant*) without *Deteſtation*. The *which Lord*, had I ſerved as I ought, The *other* would have been no more known to me, then *Leopards*, *Wolves*, and *Tygers*, ſeldom, if ever, ſeen by us, but in *Grates* and *Pictures*. Yet how manifeſt ſoever this *Truth* is, I am not ſo *fooliſh* my Selfe, or think Others ſo *Wiſe*, as to eſteem any *Precept*, or *Example* ſtrong enough to reſtrain the *unſupported Ignorance* of *Young men* from falling into this *Trap*; bayted with more *Eaſe*, though far leſſe *Aſſurance*, then *Law*, *Phyſick*, &c. For *this Courſe* often neglected, in which *Hundreds* periſh for *One*

that *thrives*; who is yet found to be more *imperious* then the *Maſter* himſelf. Since the powerful *Word of God* aſſiſted by the Rhetorick of *Divines*, is not of Efficacy ſufficient to keep them from following *Pride*, *Luſt*, and *Drunkenneſs*, though *Hell* be aſſigned for the *Concluſion*. But, if yo udeſire a more full, and elegant proſecution of this *Theame*, I refer you to *Lucian:* Having already exceeded my Firſt intention, which was only to *Kiſſe your Hands*, and in fewer words, to aſſure you that I am

Sir,

Your Servant.

Ano-

Another to the Same.

Sir,

HAd you not aſſur'd me you were not *well*, I ſhould eaſily have gueſſed it my Self ; from the *Commendation your* Letter gave to *mine.*

Which cannot but be rather the effect of a *Fever*, then your *Judgement.* To which, though I am ſo highly obliged for the preſent, as to gain a more honourable eſteem in your *Fancy*, then, without the like *Mediation*, I could poſſibly have attained: Yet I do not onely abhor this, but all *Advantages elſe*, That own the leaſt ſemblance of a *Prejudice* to you. So as I could not have been thus *Romantique*, but that the *laſt Line*, prov'd a *Cordiall* to the *Firſt*; By expunging all fear of *Future Danger*, in reſpect of your

Health. And for *Prudence*, I find it by the Elegancy of your *Style*, and the *Solidity of Matter*, ſo far rather increaſed, then diminiſhed, as I am confident your opinion is, by this time, alter'd in reference to my *Deſert*: Though I am willing to flatter my Self, That your *Love* continues. But whether the *Horſe* follows the *Chariot*, or the *Chariot* the *Horſe*, Perſons of *Parts* are found to make ſo great a *Deſcent*, which ſubmit themſelves to this *Courſe of Servitude*, That they waken the *Admiration of Lookers-on*, much more, then the *Apprehenſions* of thoſe, that, like me, have, ſo apparently, ſuffered in their particular Intereſts: It being impoſſible to imagine a greater *Lunacy*, Then to caſt away *Time*, *Freedom*, and *Fortune after ſuch*, as ſo little regard it, That they eſteem it *Reward* ſufficient for the moſt of their *Servants*,

If

If they have an *Opportunity* to obſerve the *Baſeneſſe* of their *Natures*. For what is gotten by them, belongs rather to their own *Impudence*, or *Importunity*; then the *Bounty*, or *Goodneſſe* of their *Maſters*: Since he that remains Defective, in one of theſe *Two Court-Vertues*, ſhall be compell'd to make a *Third* of *pure Neceſſity*. Let a man conſume A *Prentiſhip* with a *Citizen*: At the end of the *Time*, It is his own Fault, if he be not able to *Live*. But when a *Trades-man* (Like one of his Majeſties *Antique Statues*) is taken out of a baſe *Cellar* or *Vault*, (no Prodigy in our Dayes) and ſet up at *Court*; It is his leaſt care to provide for his *Servants*, unleſſe neceſſary to his *Vices*, or the *Infirmities* that proceed from them. Such being able to *Ride* him *where* they pleaſe; either, over their *Fellows*, or *Strangers*, by way of *Terrour*, or

Diſdain: Or *Curvet*, and *prance* with his *Complements*, in token of *Reſpect*. They reſembling, for the moſt part, *Oranges*, that yeild nothing but upon ſqueezing. I confeſſe, the Dependance on a *Monſter* of this kind, may be of excellent uſe for *Protection*, in theſe *Fatall Times*, where *Innocency* is found too weak for *Deceit*: Could it be obtain'd without a greater Loſſe. But as in a *Contract* with the *Divell*, the Firſt thing parted with, is Hope of *Future Felicity*: So a *Secretary* muſt quit his *Freedom*, or *Imployment*; being tyed to ſo ſtrict an *Attendance*, as his *Lord* is no more able to ſpare him, then his own *Brains*, or *Thumbs*. By which, the *Slavery* becomes ſo great, as it can receive no *Compenſation* from *Profit*. Wherefore ſuch as are *wiſeſt*, retain onely The *Acquaintance* of *Great men*: whom I have obſerved to thrive better then their *Menialt*

niall Servants. It being uſuall with them, to beſtow benefits on thoſe that leaſt deſerve. And to him, they have *injured* by denying a *juſt Reward*, it is their *mode*, to become an *Enemy*. As I have found moſt certainly true, who am

Sir, *Your Servant.*

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have ſent you *this* to ſerve as a *Black-Patch*, or *Foyle*; to ſet out the *Beauty of your Virgil.* And therein you may obſerve the ſtrength of *Affection:* which for your ſake is able to raiſe in me the *Enthuſiaſmes* of a Poet; from whoſe *Inſpiration*, this *Oracle* is pronounced.

THis Work is finish'd so, as no Supply
Can be expected from *Posterity*.
Nor could thy *Authour's Laurell* match thy *Bayes*,
Hadst thou appear'd with him, in *Cæsar's* dayes.
Yet, he that this *Translation* dares to slight,
Must not admire to see a *Moore* wash'd white,
And chan'gd to *English-beauty*: losing none
Of what was *Hers*; But adding of *his owne*.
If that our *Northern Paint* be not so good,
'Tis not thy *Fault*: whose *Pencil* understood
No lesse then any *Roman's*. And this shall
Struggle for *Fame* with the *Originall*:
And waste more *Bloud*, & *Inck*, then in the strife
Between those States who first gave *Homer* Life,
Which will be *Justice*. For *he* did undo
By writing then, what *Wit* entayl'd *thee to*.
Like to an Elder-Brother that is *Curst*
In all things else: yet *priz'd* for *comming First*.

But to Conclude the wishes of my Heart,
Oh that my *Prayse* could equall thy *Desert*.

A Letter perſwading---to marry.

THough your Contexture makes me confident, you will not hazard the Danſing *Courantos* with *Apes* in *Hell*: yet it is none of the leaſt Modern Miracles, why you ſtay ſo long unmarried. As if you had an Antidote to repell *Age*, and were proof againſt the *Weapons* of *Time*; or had a *Receipt* to recover his *Locks* worn off, by ſuch, as neglect to lay hold on the preſent *Occaſion*: which you would never do, had you ſeriouſly conſider'd the preſent Condition of your *Mother*; (whoſe youth is ſaid, ſo blaſphemous is Tradition, rather to have exceeded, then come ſhort of your preſent *Beauty*:) How a few Yeares hath changed *Alabaſter* into *Wainſcot*, and ruffled her *Neck* like a walking *Buskin*: So that ſuch,

ſuch, as would once have croſſed Seas, but for an *apparition* of her, cannot but now think it *Ominous*, to meet her *Faſting*. If you reſolve upon none, till you pattern the *Character* your Fancy preſented me, (when I had laſt the Honour to kiſſe your *Hands*, and heard the Scorn wherewith you received the Offer of——I muſt be bold to tell you, I took it rather as a *Copy* of your *Countenance*, then any thought could take its *Originall* from the *Diſcretion* I ever own'd you *Lady* of) you may as well expect a *New Creation*. Since, ſo much perfection, as your Language did then paynt, is not to be found out of a *Romance*; or the ſhort Entertainment, during a *Lovers Paſſion*; which once, throughly cured, by *Fruition*, is not found rarely to *recoyle* into as great a Contrary Extreame. I confeſs, *Wiſe*, *Conſtant*, and

and *Compleate Servants* may be had; but few ſuch *Husbands*, whoſe mindes are no leſſe altered by *Marriage*, then *Drunken Men* are by *Sleep*: but become like them, *weary* and *ſick*, of what they formerly took delight in; upon the *Apprehenſion*, That he which *yokes* himſelf to a *Woman*, forfeits *his Prudence*, no leſſe, then *She* doth hazard *her* Repute, who incircles a *Man* in her Arms before Enchanted by the *Prieſt*, through *Cuſtome* and *Shame* made farre more neceſſary to you, then *Men*. Wherefore finding that *Time* is unceſſantly nibling at youth, and *Beauty* the *baite* of your *Trap*: And that it is unlikely with no ſtronger *Engines*, To catch one that is *Wiſe*: Be nimble, and lay hold on *this* that is *Rich*. Who is confeſs'd none of the *Seven Wiſe Maſters*; and therefore with more *Eaſe* to be *Governed*. The *Felici-*

ties

ties of *Marriage*, periſhing in the *Conflict* ariſing between *Man and Wife*, Of equall *Spirits* and underſtanding. It being impoſſible there ſhould want Conteſts, where both lay claym to a *Capacity* fit onely to be obeyed. Which, if you have him, will by all, be conceded on your ſide. So that, inſtead of being a *Ward*, (a Tenure every *Married Woman* holds from *the Award* of her *Maker*) you ſhall be *Guardian* of the *Perſon* and *Eſtate* of your *Husband*. Now, in relation to other things, upon the *Score* of which you may reckon *ſtronger Felicities*; They will be found, after enjoyment, to vaniſh into *Cyphers*. *Learning* becomming as unſociable for *Ladies*, as *Half-witted Men* are *Wilfull* and *Jealous*; Rocks that the ſoftneſs of his *Head* gives ſufficient *caution* for, So that, under this Conjunction, you may, without interruption;

follow

follow what *Inclinations* you pleaſe. Wherefore, if you reſolve to *marry*, no *Husband* is more proper; whoſe *Folly* you may Exchange for *Wiſdom*, when you pleaſe. And to renounce it quite, were, beſides burying your *Talent* in the Ground, and robbing of the *World*, which you ought to leave as *Rich* as you found it: You *ſhould* fall into the *Condition* of an *old Mayd*, then which nothing is more *Deſpicable*: who is acceptable in no *Company*. Not daring to come amongſt *Women*, for fear of declaring more Knowledge then ſhe can, with reference to *Honeſty own*: Or approach Men out of the danger of Contempt. The Morall of *Andromeda*, is a *Hiſtory* of your *preſent* Condition. Where, the *Barren Rock* She was tyde too, is *Virginity*. The *Monſter* that came to devour her, *Time*. And he reported to *deliver* her,

her, ſome *witty-Spark*, that perſwaded her, to take a *Rich---&c.* to her *Husband*, might warrant the Acceſſe of one more *acceptable*. Oh, let Him have this *Honour Faire Lady*, who is

Madam,

Your Servant.

An

On a Looking-Glaſſe.

DEar *Glaſſe*, tell me, by what Art,
Thou bear'ſt Her *Image* without *break*-(*ing*?
When the ſame doe's *crack* my *Heart*,
Juſt as I am now a *ſpeaking*.

On another which ſhe ſaid did Flatter.

BLame not your *Glaſſe*, that doth her *Duty*.
Nor can it *Flatter* ſo much *Beauty*.
But for the reſt, In *Policy*,
It ſhewes *them Fairer* then they be.
Since if they ſaw their *Faces true*,
This, would be *broke*; and *envy'd* you.

Another.

DEar *Glaſſe*, joyn with her *Eyes*; and both (concurre
To *Note* more worth *in me*, and leſs *in Her*.

A Song.

THe *Graces* are, by *Cuſtom*, bound
Once in an *Age*, *All to be found*
In *One Creature*: There to ſhew

All

All the *Beauties* they do owe,
And now having fix'd on *Thee*
Be not *Proud*: Since, you may ſee,
Time allowes them not to ſtay,
But to meet, and go away.
Yet though whilſt theſe *Gueſts* be here,
You do rate their *Lodging* dear:
If you ſuffer me to *take* it,
I'le not *break*, when they *forſake* it.
The terms, of *Fair* and *Good*, do not expreſs
Thy *Worth*, no more, then theirs, call *Princes fine*,
When deck'd in *Diamonds*, like the Stars they ſhine:
Nay, I'le maintain Their folly to be leſs;
Since ſuch a Sight hath oft before been ſeen:
Whilſt he that would inform a ſhape like thine,
Promætheus-like muſt filtch from things *Divine*.

On a Picture.

THough this be drawn exactly forth,
It doth no more retain her Worth,
Then the *Shadow* of a *Roſe*
Can the *Scent* of one that *growes*.

Another.

BEtween *This*, & her *Mind*, there is that odds,
As is in *Mans* frail-workmanſhip and *Gods*.

A

A Letter to two Siſters the one Black *the other* Fair.

Ladyes,

IT is Deſign, and, I hope, no Preſumption in me, to joyn you in one: That, beſides the opportunity of preſenting the higheſt of my Reſpects, I might comprize in a ſingle Letter, the totall Summe of all the perfection extant in Woman-Kind. *Black* and *White*, being the unqueſtioned *Originall*, of that infinite Variety of *Beauty*, (the *mint* of *Nature*) through which is maintained her Neceſſary Commerce of Generation. And, in this equall *Diſtribution*, *Fortune* hath ſhewn no ſmall *Ingenuity*, (who is more *Wanton*, and *Inexorable*, then *Blind* or *Careleſſe*) in aſſigning, that of leaſt *Duration*, the Feweſt Years. For if you did not *Wither* alike, *Art* and *Opi-*

Opinion (the *Limmers* and *Carvers* of all *Excellency*,) would have tempted, if not Constrained every one, to serve, and adore that *Sister* onely, whose beauty had survived. By which, sweet Variety had been lost; and Perfection reduced into one *Monarchy*, Which, now, marsh in your Two glorious *Regiments*. To both which, I remain an Equall Captive. Being,

Ladyes, &c.

BEauty is wrk in severall *characters*; (*All*) None but are skil'd in some: Who *finds* out Which votes them *mad*, do say, that this man errs, Because his choice is *Black*, or *Low*, or *Tall*; Nature would have all pleas'd: And such as fall On *Ordinary Features*, are less learn'd: The *Indian* Beauties are as plain discern'd By those do know their Figure, as the *White*. Nor can Expression render it so right, As may force others to approve the *Text*. Reason with *Taste*, & *Love*, should not be *vext*.

A

A Letter to---After the Death of his Lady.

SIR,

I Know, I need not minde you, That all Sublunary things are Tranſitory: Danſing like the Atomes (the ancient Philoſophers imagined the *World* not onely to be made of, but ſtuffed withall) between one Condition, and another. Life ſeeming to be lent, to keep Death in Imployment. And Generation, to ſerve onely for the production of Bodies; that the *Fatall Siſters* might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vayl with their *Garments* of *Mortality*. But it is time to give over, at leaſt, to turn down a *Leafe*; and refer the Inculcation of this *Morality*, till ſome fitter time; For fear of falling into their Indiſcretion, are found to wake a Sick

Sick Friend, by an Impertinent *Inquiſition* after his Condition, or the unſeaſonable Adminiſtration of a Direction which way to diſpoſe of his Body. Since none can Calculate his *Eaſe* better, then the *Patient*: ‘ *Sorrow it ſelfe not being deſtitute of its Voluptuouſneſſe.* Which, hoping you will not, too farre exceed: Give me leave, to Conclude That *Manners* exacted this; and *Diſcretion* no more but to aſſure you,

I am, &c.

An Epitaph.

STone, *ſo long as thou doſt laſt*,
Let the Reader know thou haſt
The Droſſe of Her, once own'd a Mind
Contayn'd the worth of Woman-kind.
But no more: Who ſpeaks her Glory,
Muſt have for every Duſt *a* Story.

The Authours Epitaph upon Himſelfe.

I Envy not ſuch *Graves* as take up room,
Merely with *Jet* & *Porphyry*; ſince a Tomb
Adds no *Deſert*: *Wiſdom*, thou *thing divine!*
Convert my humble *Soul* into thy *Shrine*.

And then this *Body* though it want a *Stone*,
Shall dignifie *all places* where 'tis throwne.

A Letter to diſſwade——from Marrying *a* Rich, *but* ugly and deformed, *&c.*

WHen I heard at firſt, you went a *Wooing* to——I thought it a *Trick* put upon you by *Enemies*: but finding it *Seconded*, And ſeeing the fearfull Examples of *Thoſe*, who out of *Diſcontent*, and a *Deſire* to *Change* their preſent *Condition*, are found to *Caſt away Themſelves*; I begin to take your *Danger* to Heart. And do here, in the *Sincerity* of *Affection*, offer my Hand, to ſtay the *Tying* of that *Knot*, with which you go about to *ſtrangle* your future *Felicity*. For, though I confeſſe the *Party* may not unpoſſibly be very *Rich*, yet it is as likely, *The Things* required to *Dead* the Apprehenſion of ſuch A *Loathſome Companion*, will prove *So*

Charge-

Chargeable, as in a *ſhort* time, *Her Gold* will be ſpent, and *nothing* left, but *The Foul Beaſt* that brought it.

Yet ſuppoſe you finde ſo much, as may beare the *Expence* of *Mad Company*, *Whores* and *Drink*, (*Wicked Cordialls*, though *Generally uſed*, to *Correct* ſuch *Poyſon*) Can you *Diveſt Humanity* ſo farre, as to make *Her Partner* in a *Bed*, is able to tender you *ſo much* an *Enemy* to *Womankind*, as to exchange it for *Sodomy*? if not *Beſtiality* it ſelf? For though you may not be puniſhed by *Law*, The *Act* will be ſeverely Condemned, and eſteemed *Brutiſh*, by all the *Rationall part of the World*; It not lying in the *Gender* or *Kind*, but *Forme*, to render a *Creature Monſtrous* and *Abominable* to the Nature of *Commerce*.—I am ſo *Charitable*, (yet in Confidence of *Others Vertue*, rather then *Her owne*) as to believe *She* is a *Virgin*, in refe-

rence to *Man*: Who in that *Action*, might with more *Juſtice*, be puniſhed for a *Deflowrer* of *Himſelfe*, then *Her*. Wherefore you will have no more reaſon, to *Brag* of this *Priviledge*, Then *He*, that *Firſt Deſcended* into *Hell*. Of whoſe *Superlative Uglineſſe* (though her Body be ſo compoſed, As the *Divell* need not alter the *Beſt* of her *Features*, to make her reſemble the *Fouleſt* of his *Fiends*; yet) it may be Numbered amongſt the *Queſtions*, leaſt Capable of *Deciſion*; Whether, *That*, or *Her Mind*, be moſt *Crooked*. And to cover this, (yet none of the *worſt* of her Imperfections,) She is ſupported, like *Tyranny*, by *Steele*. From whence, her *Breath* is become ſo *Noyſome*, as no *Venomous* thing can live, in her *Preſence*: Nor any *Perſon* ſick of the *Mother*, miſcarry. Now what *Effects* her *Embraces* will work upon your *Selfe*, may

may be gueſs'd, by *Groomes*: ——— who in a ſmall time, come to *Out-ſtink the very Beaſts* they are *Converſant* with.--And what is ſaid, is ſo farre, from *Hyperbolicall*, As, it reſembles *Truth* more then *ſhe* does a *Woman*. Yet all this, is but a *ſlender Security*, to warrant *Poſterity* upon, ſhould ſuch a *Monſter* Confute *Philoſophy*, in producing her *Like*. For,

If *Money* be ſo prevalent, as to make you ſell your *Liberty*; why may it not *Hire* another, to become ſo much a *Slave*, as to do *your Drudgery*? Who, cannot be, upon ſerious thoughts, thus *Singular*; As, to preferre, *The abſolute Poſſeſſion* of a *Dung-Boat*, before, *The having a Partner* in a *Tall Ship*. But if ſo *fond* of *Wealth*, as to break through theſe Conſiderations: Teach Her to Cover her *Face*, and not *Salute* your *Friends*. Or, if ſhe muſt be

Kiſs'd, (The Strongeſt Complement was ever uſed) Let her Diſrobe Her——not poſſible to be more *Noyſome*, then her *Mouth*. If *Proſe* be not *Tart* enough, to *weane* you, from ſo *Childiſh* a Reſolution; For the Feare of *Poetry* deſiſt: which may make you the Subject of a *Comedy*. And *Gueſſe* by theſe *Verſes* of a *Friend*, what *Enemies* may ſay.

CAn you but think, the Antient Blindneſs Great,
When Men made *Gods*, of that which we make
Or wonder thoſe by *Nile*, could offer *Fat* (*Meat*)
And *goodly Oxen*, to an ugly *Cat*?
Yet you (*no leſſe adviſed*) to a *Witch*
Will ſell your *Fate*, in hope for to be *Rich*.
Who like the *Idolls*, in a *Pagan* Feaſt,
Carries a *Monkeys Face*, upon her *Breaſt*,
Shadow'd with *Shoulders*: under which, doth ſtay
A *Bonnet crouching*, like a *Hill at Sea*.
Nor may her *Boſome* fayle of a *Device*,
To hatch an *Egge* into a *Cockatrice*.
Or turn *Men Atheiſts*, who believe no *Elves*
Can now be found, but what we make our *Selves*.

Were

Were She in *India*, where they ſerve the *Devill*,
Not out of *Hope* of *Good*, but *Feare of Evill*,
They would *adore Her*: Leſt her *Sun-like Noſe*
Should *Burn*, and *Smoke Tobacco*, as it growes.
Or, leſt the Venom of her *loathſom Breath*,
Might blow ſome foule *Contagion* ore the Earth.
Or, That the *Spaniards*, by her malice taught,
Might learn more *Cruelty*, then ere they thought.
Yet amongſt all the People, worſt *miſled*,
None ever took a Fiend into his Bed.
Which proves, that *Nature* doth abhor your Deed
In offering to a *Demon*, *Humane Seed*.
And what will be your Iſſue, joyn'd with Her,
None can reſolve you, but a *Conjurer*.
For while She is in *Labour*, You may heare
The *Good-wives* skreak: and ſome *Phyſitian* ſweare
It is a *Child*. And that he findes in *writ*,
Such *Births*; Before, the *Prieſt* dares *Chriſten* it.

Now if *this* cannot *Move* you, May your *Taske*,
Be to beget a Compleate *Anti-Mask*.

A Letter in Reference to a *Coy* LADY.

THough I confeſſe, The *Lady* you recommended, may prove a *Pleaſure* to *Others*, are at *Leaſure* wholly to intend *Making Love:* (No *Hare* being better provided of *Muces* and *Shifts* to put off *Followers* then *She*) yet, ſo *Dull* a *Soul* as *mine*, in the *Apprehenſion* of the *Difference*, between *One Individuall Beauty*, and *Another*, is ſtill *ready*, with the *Mayor* of *London* to Loſe all the *Pleaſure* of *Hunting*, in the *Inſignificant* (though per-

perhaps to *Others Eares* pleaſant) Cry of the *Hounds*. Catching of *Larkes* and *Sparrowes* leſſe Chargeable and Troubleſome, being more *Acceptable* and *gratefull* to ſome *Complexions*, then *Hawking* at the *Heron*. The latter being too full of *Splendour*, *Noyſe*, *Delayes*, and Impertinent *Complements* for a *Perſon*, that *like me*, is not born with the *Patience* To run after A *Flying Beauty*; Or ſpend time in *Beating* for that, another will *Find to my Hand*, for a *Smaller Summe*, then may Compenſe, The tearing my Repute, or Burthening my *Conſcience* with *Vaine* and *Fallacious Oathes* and *Covenants*. In the Adminiſtration of which, *She* is as *Punctuall*, as the *Calydonian Commiſſioners*.

Yet I cannot deny, but That, She is richly *Worth* the *Purchaſe*, of any that Own the Knack of ſuch

Amorous Zelots, as have *The Patience*, to continue ſtill *Whining*, where they Know, through the *Conſciouſneſſe* of their own *Unworthineſſe*, That they are not *Likely* to be *Heard*. Making a *Sincere* profeſſion of *Love* and *Reſpect*, when Their Chiefeſt *Intent* is onely to *plunder*, What I fear, *This Lady*, is to *Seek* of, already; or elſe fouly bely'd. None Keeping Their *Avenues* more *ſtrictly Barred*, then *Such* as have been *Robb'd* already *in this Kind*. Wherefore having Caſt up *by my Self* the whole *Value* of the *Adventure*; I finde it no more then I can truck for, neerer home, and with greater *Eaſe*, and *Convenience* to *my Self*.

Yet, before I break out into an *Open Rebellion* againſt ſo *Soveraign* and *Abſolute a Beauty*, I will *Preſent* her with *This incloſed Petition*. To which, If ſhe gives not a *Satisfactory*

and

and *Full Answer*, I am resolved to break off all further *Addresse*. And to proclaim Her a *Tyrant*. And her *Subjects absolved* from their *Oathes* and *Obedience*. So, as for the *Future* it may be *lawfull* for them, to inrole *Themselves* under the *Red* and *White Colours* of any Other *Mistresse* they esteem more *Debonaire*.

The Petition.

I Pray *Diſpatch* my Suit, or elſe *Deny* it;
For if I ſpend more *Time*, I dearly *Buy* it.
If you diſtruſt my *Truth*, I do proteſt,
By That which binds *Men* moſt, I *Love* you beſt.
——It is not out of *Fear*, That I ſhould *Tell*.
You never heard me *Brag*, when I did well.
Or is't t'engage Me more, that you delay it?
None better knows the *Grant*, nor how to pay it.
Is it the *Sin* you fear Which None can *Gueſſe*?
Cutting off *Oathes*, and *Time*, you make it *Leſſe*.
Nay 'tis no *Fault* in you, to leſſen *Mine*.
Better once *Drunk*, then ſtill *to thirſt* for wine.
——Hath *Nature* made a *Blot* below your *Zone*?
My *Love* would cover it, and count it *None*.
Have you a *Servant*, that you think, is true?
I have a *Miſtreſſe* too: And yet, *Love you*.
If you can adde to theſe *Objections* more,
Pay Me for what is paſt, and I'le give o're.

A Character on a deboſhed Souldier.

HE carries no Signe of *Reputation* but in his *Mouth*; and that he ſuffers to run over, with tedious *Stories* of his own *Valour*: to juſtifie which, he hath wiſhed his *Damnation* ſo often, as it is now *ſure*; rendring him uncapable of any other *Peace of Conſcience*, but what he findes in *Drink*, or the operation of no *Diviner Spirit*, then that incites to *Luſt* and *Revenge*; his *Religion* being ſo farre of his *owne making*, as he imagines *God*, like his

old

old Hoſt, beſt pleaſed, by the *Largeſt Reckonings*. With his *Tongue* he deſires *Warres*, but is in *Heart* at *peace* with *All*, but his *Maker*. He had rather be thought *behind-hand* for *Money*, then *Word*: and will ſooner, ſatisfie an *Enemy*, then a *Friend*, being readier to requite, what he receives in *Anger*, then *Love*; *Injuries*, then *Good Turns*. Rendring himſelf a *Slave* to *Martiall and arbitrary Juſtice* for a ſmall *Salary*, under the improbable preetence of *Freeing Others*. Nor dares this *Gladiatour*, that rants ſo high in *Taverns*, and on the *Ale-bench*, oppoſe any thing but *Patience*, to the higheſt *Affront*, a Superiour *Officer* is pleaſed to put upon him. Though no *Papiſt*, he abhorres the *Church*. And like ſome of our *Reformiſts*, carries no more *Marks* of a *Proteſtant*, then what is legible in *Perjury*, *&c.* yet brags more of his *Whoring* and

and Drinking, then any *Catholick* doth of his *Good Works*. Who is thus farre *Happy*, that though he wants *Faith* to make him a *True Saint*, he ownes not so much *Hypocrisie*, as to *appear so*. And therefore more capable of *Repentance*, then those that *Plunder* and *Murther* others, under a secret *Pretence*, of Honouring that God, *he openly prophanes*. He brags much of his *Scarres*, which truly examined, prove rather the Effects of *Intemperance*, then *Marks* of *Valour*: his *Face* bearing the *Hideous Impresse* of *Pots* and *Glasses*, received not in the *Fields* of *Mars*, but the easier-entred *Sconces* of *Bacchus*. Whose *Discourse*, though it travell'd still betwixt one *besieged place*, or *Leaguer*, to another, yet it was alwayes *Tedious*. And if you altered the Subject, *his understanding* appeared *proof* against *all Sense*.

After

After whom followed this *Epitaph.*

At the Saracens Head *Tom* powr'd in Ale and (Wine,
Untill his *Face* did represent the *Signe.*

The

To Dr. *Ch.* Chaplain to *W. E.* of *Pem.*

SIR,

WHileſt it pleaſed you to Communicate with me, in a *Stile* ſuitable to the *frailty* of my *underſtanding*, I took infinite content in the *Converſe*; but ſince you have cloathed your *Letters* in the *Thundering* and *Glorious Ornaments* of *Learning*; I am not able to cope with you: Wherefore let me implore your favour ſo far as to lay theſe advantages by, and not render your *Love terrible* to me, who did never queſtion your *Power*, but own you in the *higheſt ſublimity* the world hath (being prompted by ſo much *deſert*) advanced you to. And on ſuch terms I may enjoy your *Acquaintance*, whereas otherwayes I ſhall be forced

forced to *take ſanctuary* in a perpetuall *ſilence*. Leſt I ſhould loſe that little Reaſon I have, in ſeeking to Comprehend the infinitneſs of yours. And to avoyd any miſ-information of the Quarrell at --- between my Lo--- and the E. of C--- It was really thus. The K--- having though againſt his will, prevailed with my L. to go into the Weſt, by reaſon of his Intereſt in thoſe parts, with the other Councellors of State, in hope to facilitate the payment of the five Subſidies voted, but not given by *Parliament*, and now Chriſtened a *Royall Lone*; The Commiſſioners being by the fire, A diſpute aroſe between the two former Lords, whether it was poſſible for one had never been upon the place, to ſpeak and underſtand *French* perfectly. The L--- of --- who you know never ſet foot out of *England*, maintained

the

the Affirmative with ſo much eagerneſs, that the other who had not onely more Reaſon on his ſide, but the approbation of the Company, ſaid my L.---beſt Argument was *noyſe*; a ſpeech my L. replied was undecent for an *Ea. of Complements*. And upon this, The other returned the *Lie*. To which my L--made him ſuch a Manuall Anſwer, as the *L. C.* being penned up in his clothes, fell down, whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; *ſhame*, & the title of his Majeſt. graveſt *Privy Councellors* facilitating the Compoſition. It is already arrived at the *Spaniſh Ambaſſadors*, who according to his facetious mode, put it upon the ſcore of our Engliſh Valour; which the Graveſt relations cannot make them to forget. I am ſtill haunted for verſes from our *French Coriot*, who is reſolved to print his Book in Engliſh: Thoſe I made are theſe.

What

WHat dost thou mean my friend, in *this bad time*,
To write of *Vertue*, when tis thought a *Crime*
Not to be *Vitious*? such a *Book* would *sell*,
Could prove all *Damn'd*, did offer to *do well*:
Or find that *Pimping* is a *lawfull trade*,
Because that *Sarah* brought her *Lord* a *Maid*;
Or vindicate what *Origen* hath cast, (last;
That *Court* and *Hell* shall meet in *Heaven* at
Or prove that *Incest* is a *Veniall Sin*,
Because that *Lot* defil'd his *neerest Kin*.
O could'st thou maintain this, then thou should'st be
Rais'd to high place for thy *Divinity*.
Then lose no time, let *Goodnesse* take her chance,
Whil'st you comply with *Sin* and *Ignorance*.

On a Cook.

A *Cook* is a *Baud* to the *Mouth*. That *Kills* his own *Stomack*, to quicken his *Maſter's*. Who Lives like a *Bear* by *licking* his *Fingers*. Before a *Feaſt*, he in his *White ſleevs*, and *Apron* reſembles the *Ephod* of a *Prieſt*; and ſeems to be preparing rather a *Sacrifice*, then a *Supper*. In which, the *Grand-Sallat* may juſtly be thought to perſonate an *Idoll*. His office is a repreſentation of *hell*: where all ſorts of *Creatures* are *tormented* in *Flames*, to ſatisfie the depraved and Various Nature of the Taſtes of men. Whoſe Pleaſures, and higheſt Contentments, are no otherwayes to be compleated, but at the prejudice of their *Fellow-Animalls*

malls : Over which, *Reaſon*, not *Strength*, hath purchaſed them the Soveraignty, So much abuſed in *this* world, as may render the worſt of puniſhments, juſt, in *the next*. His profeſſion ſomthing quadrates with *Heraldry*: Varying no leſſe in *Sawces*, then they do in *Colours*, *Bendes*, *Feſſes* and *metalls*; And are as much puz'led about *marſhalling* the *Diſhes*, and calculating the *precedency*, at the Table, of a *Wood-Cock*, or *Wigeon*; a *Gull*, or *Goſling*; as, the other are, in placing *Lords*, and *Ladyes*. But this, and all the reſt of his Learning, and Induſtry, concludes as I do, in an *Excrement*: which I wiſh in his —— *&c.* And ſo, leave him to *Blaſpheme* in the *Kitchin*: or *Cooling* his *Tongue* in the *Cellar*.

A Character of an Host.

AN *Host* is one who *Thrives* with *Drinking*, and growes *Rich* by *Entertainments*. He is of *vaſt Acquaintance*, but can number *Few Friends*: beſides Thoſe reſulting from *Travaile*, or *Neceſsity*. His *Converſation* is alike to *All men*, that he may gain the more *Money*. Being, equally *Hoſpitable*, to every *Religion* he can *ſave* by. Giving his *Gueſt* the beſt Content *o'e Night*, out of hope to pleaſe himſelf *in the morning*. The *Government* of his houſe is *Tyrannicall*, all *Taxes* being *Arbitrary*, at the will of his

his *Wife*, who ſits *Regent* in the *Kitchin*. Yet every one that enters, takes his *Chamber*, for the time he ſtayes, as *his own*, With no leſſe aſſurance, then *Don Quixot* did the whole *Manſion*, for an *Enchanted Caſtle*. He ventures, that *reaſon* he hath, in all Companyes. And in *Defiance* of any Drink the weary *Travelour* pleaſeth to call for, which if ſaid to be *mingled*, or adulterate, He calls the Name of *God*, and the *perſon* of the *Drawer* to atteſt the Contrary. The *Signe* is the *Scheme*, by *which*, you may take the *Aſcendent* of his *Underſtanding*. And his *Half-peck*, the Meaſure of his *Conſcience*; of which his *Oſteler* is *Chancellour*, and keeps the *Key*: Making no more of Cheating a Strangers *Horſe*, then his *Miſtreſſe* doth in Over-reaching both. If her *Husband* be grown into his

per-

perfect *Symmetry*, his *Belly* bears the exact proportion, of the *biggeſt Fugg*. And his *Face* of *That*, in the *Firſt Edition of Frier Bacon's Works*. He ſuits his *Diſcourſe*, as *Fidlers* do their *ſongs*, to the *Eares* of the *Hearers*: chooſing rather to offend *Truth*, then his *Company*. And, in caſe, any *ride double*, he proclaims them *Man* and *Wife*: as far more willing to foment *Bawdery*, then *foule* two pair of *ſheets*. He is ſeldome far out of the *way*, though *Drunk* or *Hang'd*: The Firſt, being as neer the *Road* of his *Profeßion*, as the Latter is of that of his *Deſert*.

Youth,

Youth, wit, and Beauty, like a painted Sign
May stay a Stranger: but 'tis sprightfull
Wine,
And decent welcom makes him light and Dine.
For who will pass his time in such a place,
Where nought appeares, of moment, but a
Face?

Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex, *who was executed for* Treason, *under the Reign of* Queen Elizabeth; *with a modest Answer to Sir* Henry Wotton.

THe *Love* of a *People*, may be observed, of no lesse dangerous a consequence for a *Subject* to *trust* to, then their *hatred* proves to such *Princes* as are so unwary as to *neglect* it. For after that Sir *Robert Cecil* had prevailed so farre upon his own Brother, the *Earl of Exceter* (most else refusing the imployment, out of *Love* or *feare*) as to proclaim *Essex* Traitor: He appeared, deserted by all, but

some few unfortunate Gentlemen, whose Lives out of *Gratitude*, or *Want*, depended wholly on his.

Nor is the *Affection* of a *Prince*, lesse *permanent*, then their *Anger* deadly. And in the first of these the *Queen* was *unconstant*, in the latter *inexorable*. Wherefore, if during so long a reign, no great quantity of Blood was spilt, it rather resulted from her *Subjects Innocency*, then any *propensity to forgiveneß*, inherent *in her Nature*. Nothing comming so hardly from her, as a pardon; I mean of such faults, as concerned her self. And in this she shewed a rare prudence, in becoming able to raise a *profitable use* out of a *Naturall defect*, for (born of that sex, allowed by all as the weakest in Judgement) she lay more obnoxious to a Censure of insufficiency, then that of Tyranny: the sternesse of whose looks, hath in all ages

ges scared away contempt, the inseperable Companion of a cheap and effeminate Nature.

So as neither *Leicester*, *Hatton*, nor any other *Minion*, could ever extract so much favour from her, as might serve their *Lands* or *Heires*, from refunding what their *Fathers* had mis-spent: Her *favours* keeping no *Servant* company, beyond the *Land of the Living*. The most apparent reason why the *Lady Elizabeth Hatton* cast her selfe into the contaminated arms of *Atturny Cook*. Nor could her disposition to *severity* be in any thing more manifest, then the extraordinary meanes used but to defer the execution of the *Earl* of *Southampton*, who had besides pity, the enemies of *Essex* to plead for him: yet she continued inflexible towards mercy, till the same hand that led her into the temptation, did like the *Divels*,

ſhew her the glory ſhe was fallen from already, in her Subjects opinion, by quenching his, and their enemies *malice* with the Blood of their *Darling*. Nor was this hard-extracted *Mercy* unſuitable to the emergency of the preſent occaſion, for (as I have been often told) not onely thoſe that did in the peoples opinion, contribute to the murther (as many called it) of the *Earle*: But the *Queen* herſelf, was expoſed to ſome publique affronts. The ſpectators ſhe paſſed through in every town, (eſpecially in *London*) becomming far thinner and muter then formerly they were.

Some Princes love not that *Child* is in order to *ſucceed* them: but all abominate a *ſtranger* lyes under that notion; the cauſe that ſhe, contrary to the well-being of the *Subject*, no leſſe then the priviledge of *Parliament*, Committed *Pigot* and *Went-*

Wentworth, for moving to know the *Man*, and beheaded *Eſſex*, but for making a ſmal demonſtration of offering himſelf: Though the later *Roman Tyrants* took that little ſecurity they did enjoy, from a quite contrary courſe. But this was at a time when the *blood Royall* lay extinct, and the poſſeſſion of the *crown* fell to his ſhare had the *Keeneſt Sword* and ſtrongeſt head-piece: In which caſe the moſt probable way to ſecure the Prince, was the declaring his Succeſſour, who to preſerve his own dignity, was likely to take revenge on any ſhould aſſaſſinate him in the throne before, a thing very ordinary in thoſe depraved times; not ſo in *England*, where during her Reign, there were no leſſe then fourteen titles, good and bad, which by her Silence were all kept quiet. For till ſhe made a publique declaration, none had a juſt cauſe to

complain. And in caſe any endeavoured to have ſucceeded by force, ſhe had a fair choice out of the reſt to make oppoſition, none being free from ſome conſiderable defect or other. The *Parliament* remaining wholly at her devotion, and no Ill-willers to *Eſſex*; The *Commons* being as fearfull of the *Regiment* of a *Stranger*, as the *Peerage* were jealous of the houſe of *Harford*, or any elſe deducible out of their own Body. Fortune appearing then in all particulars ſo ſtrong on *Eſſex* ſide, as ſhe ſeemed rather *unable*, then *unwilling* to be ar out thecharge of his folly, who put her upon ſuch Impertinent errands, as the *Dutch* youth do fooles on the ſecond of *Aprill*: Through which ſhe became ſo far tired, as ſhe was forced at laſt to return him a *Block* and a *Hatchet*. This unconſtant Deity, being in the number of ſuch *giddy Auxilia-*

ries,

ries, as none can be ſure what ſide ſhe will take, and therefore not to be truſted by a wiſe man. The moſt ſteady if not ſignall events, having been brought about without any other mediation of hers, but what is unpoſſible to be avoided; in which ſenſe ſhe is rather capable of the title of *Providence*, then *Luck*. Fortune reſembling a cane, which no wiſe man, but in an unavoidable neceſſity will hazard the weight of his whole reſt upon. Wherefore the *Earl of Eſſex*, if he had not been befated with a ſtrong Opinion of ſucceſs in all his actions, (though built on the weakeſt foundation) would never have referred his life & future well-being to the ſole arbitration of *Chance*, and the unconſtant guidance of a *Womans Affection*: which being onely skin-deep, could not but in a *Court*, furniſh a perſon of far leſſe magnitude then a Soveraign power

with choice enough: Eſpecially after his enemies, for their own ſecurity, had ſo far Indulged his, as to furniſh him with an Army paid by the *Queen*, and choſen by himſelf. Nor were the greateſt families then in Rebellion in *Ireland*, (rendred by the moſt probable reports) leſſe obedient to him then his reſpective *Officers*: And if theſe advantages had been too little to have ſet the Crown upon his head, after the deceaſe of his Miſtriſſe, he might have had any men, or mony from the moſt *Catholick King*; who would have advanced his deſignes, or any naturall *Engliſh* Subjects elſe, that had but oppoſed the *Scottiſh* Succeſſion. Which was formerly projected by *Leiceſter*, and the onely viſible occaſion he managed the *Engliſh* force in the *Netherlands* with ſo little care, and worſe ſucceſſe, who immediately began

began to proſper upon his remove. But *Eſſex* had *Religion* and *Fidelity*, inherent in his Nature, *Humours* known ſo Incompatible with *Ambition*, as it was no leſſe *unſafe* for him to court a *Crown*, then it did after prove *Incongruous* and miſ-becomming, for his more frigid Son to make *Love*, and Importune *Ladies*. Nor is this a conjecture of my own, but what I have often heard averred by the friends of Sir *Charles Danvers*, whoſe youngeſt Siſter married my eldeſt Brother. And that the *Honeſty* of *Eſſex* (never denied to exceed his *Diſcretion*) might for the preſent moderate his *Ambition*: But how he would have behaved himſelf in the company of an *abſolute power*, may be ſafer now *diſputed* by us, then at that time *experimented* by the *Queen*. *Succeſſe* in thoſe that wear it, expunging like *Aqua Fortis* all former marks of

Allegiance or *Probity*. For though his first thoughts might be of no larger extent, then to remove *Cecil*, and other declared enemies, under the notion of evil Counsellers, that powred into her Eares such tales as were disadvantagious to the true *Religion*, and *Policy* of the *State*: Yet that point gained, he could not from a lower Station then a *Throne*, have satisfied so many, wiser men then himself, whose clearer insight into the advantages he was then in possession of, had tempted to be adventurers with him. So as all the favour could have accrued to his Mistris from a more happy succes then befell the *Earl*, exceeded not the Complement of continuing her in his *lap*, (a place not likely to sute long with her Age, or his occasions.) Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, having been too reserved, quietly to have indured from an *Administrator*

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(ſhe remaining yet in being) ſo profuſe an expence of honour and Riches, as was expedient to be thrown to ſuch a needy party, as had already Imbarqued themſelves in his ſervice, whoſe fidelity and ſtrength (the *Nurſlings* of *hope*, *reward and preferment*) was requiſite to maintain him on the Stage. For though poſſibly, *his deſires* might terminate in a removall of *his Enemies*; They had no *honeſter deſign* then to *raiſe* themſelves, without much reference had to the meanes. From whence it is eaſie to contemplate the prodigious Diſparities in Rebellion; which though begun upon never ſo *juſt*, *moderate*, or *Religious* pretences, *neceſsity*, *ambition*, and *Humane frailty* will interject ſo many new and unexpected pretences, and events, as it rarely concludes, without the ruine of it ſelf, or the Commonwealth; which once

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ſuffered to grow intemperate and run over, it doth like a *Pot* conſume its own fat, and loſeth its former ſtrength and Glory, by raiſing the droſſe and dregs of her Subjects, uppermoſt.

One cauſe of his *preſumption* was, The fond *Opinion* he had, that ſhe would not rob her *eyes* of the great *delight* ſhe took in his *Perſon*. A *fantaſticall* over-weening of himſelf, and womans *Affection*, to whom, no *ſingle* mans perfections was ever yet found *continually Gratefull*.

Now ſuch as wonder, how ſhe durſt bring him to the Scaffold, for *fear* of her own Honour, are not throughly ſtudied in the boldneſſe of Princes (whoſe faces are continually *ſteeled* with the varniſh of a *groſſe Flattery*, put upon their *worſt Actions*) no more then the compunctions of Dying Men, who deſire *rather to clear* themſelves *towards God*,

God, and the *world*, then impertinently to *accuse others*: Besides, a hope of *Pardon*, not to be *cut off* but with his Head, was a sufficient Reason to restrain him from breaking out into any intemperate *ranting* against his *Prince*: As *Biron* of *France*, did not long after, most Imprudently fall into, in reference to his King, *Henry the Fourth*, Dying in the opinion of the generality, rather like a *mad man*, then a *Christian*. Yet had *Essex* unloaded his bosome of all it did contain, it might possibly not have *swelled* to so great a bulk, as did then appear in the *Opinion* of the most: or that it may after be blown up to by flatulent Posterity (seldom endued with so *even a fortune*, as to have *truth* and *falshood* weighed to it in an *equall Ballance*) manifest in a number of Relations extant at home, and abroad. The *Bloud* she inherited, no lesse then her *Father's*

humour,

humour, having procured her no good opinion from the *Church*, according to whose *Dialect* the generality did heretofore, out of *Ignorance*, or *reverence*, tune their *belief*.

Had he been true to his *first Principles*, moulded by some more dexterous heads then his own, which was to *spin* out his time, together with the *Irish* war, till a certain report of the *Queen's sickness*, or *death* had come to him, from such an *unquestioned* number of his own *Confidents*, as were able to have *assured belief*; It might in reason have presented him with his wish, or at worst so much *power*, as would have made him *arbitrator* of the *next succession*. But *hast*, proceeding from a *Naturall Impatience* to live out of *England*, and the *contrary advice* received from some neer about him (*suborned* to destroy him) rendered

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all addle: By perſwading his return *without an Army*, upon a *falſe report* raiſed of her *Majeſties Death*, the time aſſigned, wherein to ſhew himſelf. And to this end, the Warres in *Ireland* were prolonged, with no weaker endeavours, then *Montjoy* uſed after to conclude them, Owner of no other *project* but the reducing of that *Province* unto obedience: *Eſſex* preſuming ſo farre upon the peoples affections, that he thought the *ſound* of his coming able to raiſe an Army whereever he came.

Eſſex, if he had been maſter of parts ſtrong enough to have *mounted* him into the *Saddle* of *Soveraignty*, might have found by the beating of the *Parliament* (a true *pulſe* of the Nation) That there was no probability to raiſe any advantagious diſtemper for him, during the life of the *Queen*: The people apre-

prehending little other cauſe of diſcontent, but what might ariſe from the thought, that their preſent felicity depended only on the continuance of an *Old Lady*; After whom, they expected more *diſmall dayes*, then their *Love* could ever have imagined from the Government of *Eſſex*.

Wherefore to lay the *Scene* of any thing carried but the *vizard* of a *Rebellion* in *London* (at that time abounding with *riches* and *felicity*) was an act ſavouring of ſo great *Imprudence*, as I wonder his *enemies* ſhould *bring him to it*, or his *Friends* ſuffer him to *proſecute*: As I have often told ſome at that time neer about him, who made me no other anſwer, but that he periſhed between his own *preſumption*, and others *Infidelity*. His *ſecurity* might have been more, and *loſſe* leſſe, had he gone into *Wales*, when he paſſed through

through *London*, where he had great love both by *Inheritance* from his *Father* (a *good Landlord*) and his own purchaſe, alwayes of a *liberall Nature*. Nor did he fail to wear a *Leek* on St. *David's* day, but beſides, would upon all occaſions *vindicate* the *Welch* Inhabitants, and *own* them for his *Countrymen*, as *Queen Elizabeth* uſually was wont, upon the firſt of *March*. And by this the *Earl* grew ſo *popular* amongſt theſe people (eſpecially ſuch as had *little to loſe*,) that without all queſtion, ſo many would have appeared in his favour, as might have procured him *audience* from her *Majeſty*, and not improbably the *removall* of his enemies, under that notion hated by the *generality*, no leſſe then thoſe linked to him, under a more ſtrict friendſhip. Or if this had been too hard a task, their *ſtrength* and *meanes* was not likely to want power,

power, to land him again in *Ireland*, from whence he had been drawn by his *own folly*, and the *wiſdom* of his *maligners*; where not onely the *Engliſh*, but the *natives* (to thoſe in actuall *Rebellion*) were his reported *ſervants*. The *Catholiques*, till they were better *Cajoled* by the *Scotiſh Kings* Confidents, not obſtructing his Deſignes. And how ſecure he would have been, in that *Province*, may be gueſſed by *Tyrone*, the Capitall *Rebell*, who notwithſtanding more impartial indeavours then the *Lord Lieutenant Eſſex* had uſed, did obtain his *Pardon*, in a manner maugre the *Engliſh forces*.

Eſſex was *too honeſt* to have removed every Impediment lying in the way to *Soveraignty*, nothing but *death* being able to *gagg* a perſon *robb'd* of a *Crown*. Yet her *Succeſſour* met with no *oppoſition*, though bred in an *ayre* ever *Peſtife-*

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rous to this *Nation*; which *wiſely* conſidered, might have tempted a people to have *diſputed* his entrance, till caution given. But the *Riches* and *felicities* injoyed, during the incomparable Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, hung yet like *holy dayes* at their fingers ends, by which they were become ſo *effeminate*, and *unadviſed*, as to chooſe rather to fall into an *Incurable Conſumption*, then *hazard* a *little* the *ſhaking* by a few fits of a *Fever*.; which if choſen, might not unlikely have proved as *wholeſome Phyſick* for *King James* as *England*; Who wanting a *Legall pretext*, had nothing left him in ſafety ſtrong enough to refell the *Brazen-faced* Impudence of his *Countrymens* Importunity. But the laſt *Scene* of *Princes*, like the *Cata-ſtrophe* of a Play, is ſo hudled up, and every one ſo intent upon his own particular Intereſt, (being muf-

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fled by *hope* or *fear*) as that is left meerly to the diſpoſition of *Fortune*, which ought onely to be intruſted with *Prudence* her ſelf. Nor did the readineſs of the *Scots* to Arm, (in hope of ſo much *plunder*, as this Nation might afford, ſhrouded under the ſpecious pretence of *Henry* the 7th. eldeſt daughter) portend leſs in the ears of the *unreſolved*, then a poſſibility of *Conqueſt*, the moſt *ungratefull ſound* to the formerly *free People* of *England*. Neither did theſe *conjectures* receive ſmall *aggraviation* from thoſe formerly ſuborned, to promote the entrance of the *Stuarts*, who if *Eſſex* had remained true to his principles, might have been ſaluted on the *borders*, by an *Army* ſtrong enough to have *moderated* the *Scots* conditions, or *advanced* his *own*. Though it was the univerſall Opinion, that *Eſſex*'s *Ambition*, did like the great

Earl

Earl of *Warwick*'s, terminate in a desire to bring in *James* on his own score.

It is not probable the *Earle* carried any evill meaning towards the *Common-wealth*, because neither his *enemies*, nor *friends* are found to mention any endeavour in him to call in a *Forreigner*: Wherefore if the *Crown* was his *Mistresse*, he used the most *decent* way of *wooing* her, which was onely through the *Mediation* of her *native Subjects*. Yet I doubt whether he had justly calculated the weight of this *Circumstance*, That *Conscience is as dangerous in an Usurper, as Cruelty, and excesse is deadly, and undecent, in him doth Legally succeed.*

I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a *Paradox*, that *Essex* would have vindicated the *English freedom*, by reviving such *ancient Priviledges* as had been pretermitted,

ted, during the *Tyrannicall* reigns of the two last *Henries*; And not wayes indulged by *Queen Elizabeth*, which not extending all her time beyond a few particulars, was then less discernable. No act of hers being registred so contrary to the grain of her own people, as the death of this man; the *Queen of Scots* being looked upon as a *Catholick*, which in the generall dialect of *England* at *that time*, signified no less then a *sworn enemy to God and the Prince*, (so *zealous*, if I may not say *furious*, are *all changes*) that it was passed over, without any apprehension of *honour*, or *pitty*, as justified by the cruell *Massacre* committed not long before upon the *French Hugenots*, at the instigation of that *Kings Mother*. An Act through which the *Integrity* of *Princes* was much *abated*. But whether his nation by reason of her *divers*

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titles, and *disparity in estates*, was capable of that *absolute freedom*, hath since been fancied by some, I leave to the Arbitration of greater *Politicians*.

Onely this I am confident of, that no fair capitulation could have disobliged *King James*, who lay under too many *doubts*, and strong *desires*, to have refused so *peaceable* an *entry* as he found, upon any *lawfull limitations*; manifest in the advice given to his Son; Wherein are more *Popular rules*, then himself was ever observed to *follow*.

By the vast quantity of teares let fall from the *Multitude* upon his *Grave*, may be noted, how far easier it is to find *pitty*, then *protection*. Though his *friends* if *united*, would have proved the *major part*. Who for want of a *good head-piece* to follow, this *universall affection*, like *floting Atomes*, made onely a *world* of

of Calamity for himſelf and his party. But this blow paſt recalling, ſet the peoples teeth ſo much an edge, as all the *Queen* did after, was thought *bitter*, and her Government too *peeviſh* and *effeminate* for ſo *warlike* a Nation: Nor did ſhe decline leſſe in the opinion of the *Court* it ſelf, no counſel daring after to appear, but what was ſutable to the *Cecilian guſto*.

Here may be noted, with what *Circumſpection* Princes ought to play their Game, ſince *Counſellors*, their *Card-holders*, are not ſeldom *Cheaters*, and intend more *particular* Intereſts then their *Maſters*: As appeared in the remove of *Eſſex*, a man thought farre more neceſſary to the *Queen's* Service, and *Englands* ſafety, then ſuch as purchaſed his ruine. The banding of two factions, being the moſt probable way to keep, this already *ſuperannuated*

ated Princes from falling into *contempt.* For ſuch Commands, as under *both parties* would have been readily obeyed, were after *one* had got the *abſolute diſpoſure* of affairs, wholly neglected. *Eſſex*'s return (which no queſtion would have been indeavoured; upon the leaſt diſcontent of her Majeſty) *appearing* of ſo diſmall a conſequence to his *enemies*, as nothing might *procure* it, was thought *ſafe*, or what did *obſtruct* it, *dangerous*. Nor was it poſſible for this *planet*, ſo neer its *declenſion*, to *Influence* another *party*: None daring to run the *Hazard* of an unavoydable future *Ruine* upon the *contemplation* of a *year*, or *two*'s power; which was more then her *age*, and *preſent weakneſſe* did in any probability promiſe.

This proves, it had been the *Queen*'s better *policy*, to have conceded the Life of the *Earle* to the

teares, and *vowes* of the *people*, through which their *Love* had not onely been *preserved intire*, but (what was next considerable) so great a *restraint* put upon the *contrary Cabal*, as might *contain* them within the compasse of *Obedience*; Out of *fear* she should have let loose this *Lyon*, who to that end she might have kept in the *Tower*, his *death* not being probable, as her *Subjects* stood affected, to have countervalued the advantage of his *Life*. And this oversight was the more inexcusable, because the Ancestours of the *Earl*'s chiefest enemies had by the same arts rendred her *ungratefull* to the People of *England*, in a like case of *severity* towards the *Duke* of *Norfolk*.

Nor did she apprehend till it was too late, the wound given her *own Power*, through the mediation of the *Hangman* in the death of *Essex*;

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Not being able ever after, to moderate the *Insolency* of those, that now did not stick to *slight* her, and story openly in her ears the necessity she lay under, to declare the *Scotch King* her *Successor*, lest the *Parl.* should be (for their own *safety*) compelled to *do it themselves*; which had not been omitted, but (as I have been told) to endear *King James* more to some *particular families*, of which the *most noble* for birth, found afterwards little cause to *applaud* their *Designe*. Neither were other *reports* wanting, which being *usuall* at the *Death* of all *Princes*, I shall here wilfully omit, as quite unsatisfied of their truth. Nor had I said this, but that there hath been from the beginning of the *uncivill wars* (wherein none were *masters* of what they had) diverse *imperfect Copies* of my own hand left in the custody of one did print some of them, un-

der a *nameleſſe Author*, though very falſe, And might have done this, i not timely prevented.

Nor did this blow terminate only in the ruine of the *Earls friends* but extended to the diſadvantage o his *Maligners* themſelves, apparen in Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who wanting *Strength*, though not *Wit* to be th *treaſurers Corrivall*, Periſhed becauſ not thought to own *humility* enoug to be his *Servant*: it being *mor ſafe at Court to have many Enemie of equall power, then one falſe ambi tious friend, that hath attained to th abſoluteneſſe of Command.* The agi tations and tempeſts, ariſing from *conſiderable factions* in the houſes o Princes, (reſembling ſome wind at ſea, by which men are drive th ough by contrary means, to on and the ſame end) would of neceſſi ty have *miſcarried*, or *periſhed*, ha any *ſingle party* prevailed. The on

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ſtill thinking it honourable to *preſerve* and *advance* what the other eſteems ſafe to *ſuppreſſe* and *deſtroy*. And this *Raleigh* was often heard to ſay, he did not *apprehend*, Before his *Genius* had dictated it to him, as he came in a *Boat* from the execution of the *Earl* of *Eſſex*, which was done at the *Tower*. Nor could the wiſeſt of his endeavours free him from the *dire effects* of this *Portent*, or to name it more properly, a neceſſary cauſe of ſuch events, as did after befall him.

The Death of *Eſſex* like a Melancholy cloud, did ſhade the proſpect of her peoples affection, from being ſo diſcernable at the *ſhutting of her dayes*, as it was during the *dawning* and *Meridian* of her *reign*. Yet if *Eſſex* had been try'd by a *Peerage* of *Angels*, they would have paſſed a like *Sentence* upon him, or expoſed *Monarchy* to contempt.

Wherefore *Prudence* cannot lay the fault at the door of her *Justice*, but the *ill-management* of her *Mercy*, as not knowing how to imploy it, towards the beſt advantage of her future Affairs. But after an *Impartiall Reflection* made, in reference to private perſons averſeneſs towards any apprehenſion of *defect*, we may poſſibly learn to wonder, why ſhe made no better proviſion againſt *contempt*, till *that hower* a meer ſtranger to this *Princeſs*, who had all her ſails continually fill'd with *flattery* or *ſucceſs*.

Now to vindicate her *Majeſty* from the obvious *aſperſion* I have ſo often heard her *prudence* upbraided withall, (for neglecting the *Italian* mode quite, in the removall of *Mary* the *Scottiſh Queen*, and *Dowager* of *France*, ſo much the more *undecent*, as the hand of a *Hangman* is leſs *honourable* then that of a *Phyſitian.*) I may ſay, That ſince thoſe, who

who for their *own ſakes* as well as their *Soveraigns*, thought it not ſafe to be left undone, wanted the skil or ſpirit to doit a *clandeſtine way*, i was more *diſcretion* then *folly* to *refuſe* ejecting one ſo *uncouth* her ſelf; ſuch a *leſſon* being eaſier *learned* then *forgotten*, & might have been afterward *practiſed* to her perſonall diſadvantage.

And if *reports* on all hands were not miſtaken, little thanks is due to thoſe who made the *Nation acceſſary* through this ſolemn Tryall to the *Death* of her *mother* they meant next to ſet up. Nor can an undoubted deſire in the *Scots* to have her removed, the better to facilitate the *Succeſſion* of their *King* (who did more indulge his *Patience* then *Honour*, in paſſing *unrevenged* thoſe *houſes*, ſprinkled by *her blood*) juſtifie their *diſcretions*, that could not but know all *Obligation* was more likely to be loſt in the *ſhame*, then

found in any *gratefull acknowledgment* of ſuch *actions* as theſe. And if their *Poſterity* taſte of the like *Juſtice*, they may ſacrifice repentance to ſuch nets, as themſelves ſpread to inſnare this *Queen* firſt, and then *Eſſex*; the fault of the laſt being in reference to the *Innocent* driving on the *deſigne*, as far *below ſuch ſeverity*, as the *majeſty* of the other was *above it*.

Nothing commends the goodneſs of *Queen Elizabeths* reign more, then that *ſhe* and her *Subjects* ſhould have one and the ſame *Minion*, as happened in *Eſſex*: whereas the *hatred* of the people, proved after an undoubted conſequence of her *Succeſſor's Love*, remaining no leſs *confident* of the *choyce* of the one, than *diffident* of the others. The *Queen* wanting no *medium* to nterpoſe between *her* and their *fury*: from whence grew a *confidence*, that

that ſhe would not countenance an unworthy man. Neither was it a ſmall advancement to this general complyance, that the people appeared not at the coſt to raiſe him. It being the cuſtom of this thrifty Prince, to let her Favorites *taſte*, not *ſurfet*, on the wealth of the *Nation*, conveying her *Largeſſes* by *Spoons*, not *Buckets:* The names of *Monopolies*, and *extrajudiciall Taxes*, not being intelligible to experience all her days. Neither were her ears ſtopped againſt her peoples complaints, ever thought by her *juſt*, and ſo *fit* to receive a preſent *redreſſe*; the cauſe her *Parliaments* were no further *inquiſitive* then ſhe was pleaſed to *informe* them.

Had her *Succeſſor* retained the like *Moderation*, the power of our *Repreſentative* had never fallen under the *malleation* of ſo extenſive a diſpute, which hath raiſed mens

minds up to so impetuous a Billow, as it is questioneble, whether that which *supported* her *power*, may not through a contrary application *utterly ruine* those may succeed. Queen *Elizabeth* being not onely *fortunate* in her conduct at home, but able to *diffuse* peace and plenty over such Neighbour-Nations, as she was advised by true *Reason of State*, to maintain in *strength* and *good plight*. Not suitable to the late practise of a *Prince*, that first brake with *Spain*, then *France*, and after was hardly restrained from kindling a fire in the *Netherlands*, which lyes in a manner in the bosom of *England*.

Now I should conclude here, but that I find Sir *Henry Wotton* (late *Provost* of *Eaton*, and a long time before *Ambassadour* with the most Illustrious State of *Venice*) hath published a Manuscript amongst his friends

friends, and may ſince be made more generall; where he offers to compare the *Duke* of *Buckingham* with the *Earl* of *Eſſex*; much to the diſadvantage of the latter, who laying this action by, did never own the doing any thing ſo *ungratefull*, as might make him *fear* the *Anger*, or *beg* the *favour* of a *Parliament*, much leſs owe his *Life* to the *diſſolution* of one already called. He is not *charged* with many deeds of *Improbity*, unleſs *Women* be caſt upon his account, not in *Juſtice* to be done, the *other* ſtanding by. The awe he bare to the *Religion* then Profeſſed was diſcernable by his *Death*, which in the *Opinion* of many, reached ſomething below the *Garb* of a *Souldier*; ſo buſie are *Criticks* (that like Flyes ſpare nothing ſavours of *Fame* or *Infamy*) to the *Grave* it ſelf.

That he was thought no inſtru-

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ment of *Tyranny* or *Oppreſſion*, appears manifeſt, in the Monument of *Love*, remains ſtill undemoliſhed in the hearts of moſt *Engliſhmen*: whereas the *Duke* retains the generall tincture of, *&c.* Nor can his well-known *bounty* to *Friends* and *Servants* expunge it, becauſe *drained* from the *people*, or taken out of the *publique Treaſure*, if not from the *generall ſafety* of the Nation. Whereas *Eſſex* obliged his *Confidents* out of his *own ſtore*, or by other ſo *innocent wayes*, as the *Subject* had no juſt cauſe to be ſcandalized at it.

The *Earles* Naturall parts were as good as the *Dukes*, his *Learning* and *Birth higher*, the one being of an *honourable*, the other at beſt but of a *Gemile extraction*. Nor can ſo *inconſiderate* an *Action*, that in *charity* rather *deſerves* the *title* of a *Riot* then of a *Treaſon*, come up to ſo great

great an *Ingratitude* and *Indignity* to the *Nation*, as *Buckinghams* proceedings at *Rochell*, calculated after the *French account*, the summe of which I leave for more voluminous *Pens* to cast up; onely I shall assume the boldness to say, That the *Duke* shewed no less *folly* in *accumulating* so great a *hatred* of the people, then *Essex* did in *mis-applying* their *Love*. And if his *shadows* were left exact to posterity, he was not behind him in *handsomness*, the sole and primary cause of *Villers* advancement. Onely in this *Essex* came short, in having a *Mistresse* would be attentive to *Reason*, from whence soever it came, whether through the Organs of *Friendship* or *Malice*. Whereas the *Dukes* fortune depended on *two Princes*, That in reference to *their own weakness* or *his strength*, remained *deaf to all complaints* else, but what were presented

sented through *his own mediation*, or those of his *Creatures*, with which he was ever made first acquainted, under no slighter a penalty then his displeasure, so much *more heavier* then the *Kings*, as his *memory was better*, and *Interest more*.

Concerning their *Deaths*, I can attest, the *Dukes* did occasion no *less joy*, then the other did *sorrow*, not matched by the saddest accident did happen in *Queen Elizabeths* reign; No not if her *Death* be cast in, though *deplorable enough*, as I have often been informed by those did *approve* the *Sentence*, but not the so *suddain execution* of it. Nor was the *Hangman* reported to be willingly hired to do it, whereas *Felton* seemed to be *Inspired* by some *Damon*, if not the *Genius of our Nation*.

This had not been said, but in vindication of that, I never found cause

cause yet to question the truth of, and to unwarp their judgements (if any such be) that may be drawn aside, by the goodness of Sir *Henry Woottons* parts, in knowing mens opinions, much contaminated by his too over-zealous celebration of this Man, as may be easily found in the Records of *Parliament*, to which I refer the Reader, together with what I have in this behalf written.

Some

Some Advantages *may be deduceable from* Court-Factions.

IT may be thought I hope no leſs *impertinent*, then what went before, if according to my *rambling* Method, I ſhall drop ſome conjectures in reference to a *benefit* may redound to the *Subject* from *Court-factions*: All which *in concluſion* will reach the *Prince*, who cannot be *ſafe* and *happy*, if his *people* live *miſerably*; Not likely to be avoyded, where *preferments* depend wholly upon the *mediation* of a *ſingle* and *uncontroulable party*. In which caſe the *oppreſſed* have no power for the preſent to *appeal* to. The cauſe our later *Parliaments* have been peſtered with *Clamours* and *Complaints*, ſeldom, if ever heard of in the *Gol-*

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den dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*. And from *whoſe root* ſprung thoſe *branches* of *miſery*, by which the greateſt *felicity* any nation ever injoyed, is become over-ſhadowed, ſo that the *detection* of *corruption* in *Officers*, and the *gratification* of the *malice* of ſome, and *Ambition* of others, in their *expulſions* and *Puniſhments*, gave them at laſt the boldneſs to queſtion the *integrity* of the *Crown*.

Divers perſons of *equall authority*, though *both wicked*, do in experience *produced more juſtice* then a *greater probity* in a *ſingle Individuall*, hath been (at leaſt in theſe *depraved ages*) *heard* to *pronounce*: For though *Bribery* cannot be denyed a *deflourer* of *equity*; yet remaining more palpable in reference to *detection*, it may not happily be of ſo bad a conſequence, as the effects of the more uneaſily detected propenſities, found to follow the in-

inclinations of *love*, *fear*, or *hope*: as it is eaſily deduced from the *practiſe* uſual in *private families*, where a *great advantage* accrues to the *firſt Delator*, and *prejudice* to the *party accuſed*; It not lying in the *ſtrength of vertue*, if in any *agility of defence*, to keep a perſon *immaculate* from the blurs of *Calumny*, for want of *proof*, or an *indifferent ear*, which *ſuperlative powers* cannot be at *leaſure* to afford. Nor is the advantage to be drawn from two *equall Cabals*, better diſcerned, then by comparing the tempers of *King James* his *Parliaments* with thoſe holden under the *Queen*; for the firſt, being wholly led by a *ſingle* and *paſſionate affection* to one *Minion*, lived to ſee never a tolerable *Miniſter* relating to the *Crown*, or any in Authority ſo *reſolute*, as not to *prefer* the *Favorites Command* before his *Maſters*, as eſteeming the *frown* of the laſt

laſt more *deadly*. Now the *huge rate* ſet upon *places* of *Judicature*, taught *Judges* to ſell their *votes*, and *people* to *complain*: Who by *devouring* of *Inſtruments*, came at laſt ſo well *acquainted* with their own *ſtrength*, as not to *ſpare* the *principall*, and *firſt cauſe*. One *Conceßion* ever crouding room for a *greater*, if not a more *unreaſonable* demand. Whereas ſuch inſtruments of State as *Queen Elizabeth* had uſe of, being *ſtrained* through the *double* and *contrary Intereſts* of a *divided party*, no *vertue* was *excluded*, or *vice admitted*, any way *beneficiall*, or of *prejudice* to *Prince* or *people*; contrary to the cuſtom of later times, wherein the moſt *probable deſigns* were *pinched* and *miſcarried*, through the *ſmalneſſe* of their *parts* were imployed to *keep* them *on foot*. No more *ſolid Reaſon* appearing in the advancement of the moſt, but *Mony* or *favour*

vour; As no question will be found instanced in a *prodigious number* of *examples*, when *time* shall have *purchased impunity*, for the *manifestation of truth*; not so likely to have proved the *result* of a *divided Court*, where the *creatures* of one were the *enemies* of an other, *no lesse powerfull*; and so they both became lyable to *accusation*, or capable of *defence*. And from the sparkles of this clashing, not onely persons and actions, but the *Queens Councils* came to be refined from the rust and *Cankers*, that after grew through the corruption of *forraign coyn*, no lesse *currant* at *Court* all my time, then pieces of two and twenty shillings, *Jacobuses* themselves. Now though *Monarchy* may (whether out of *perfection* or *defect* I shall not here dispute) make use of this *Recipe*, it seems *dangerous*, if not *mortall*, in reference to a *freer*

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Government, where the least *siding* is a *step* towards *Tyranny*: the *weakest part* being as apt to *call*, as a *potent neighbour* may be to *come* and *assist*, upon so *advantagious an errand*. All *disparities* or *contentions*, but *meerly rationall* and in *reference* to an *universall welfare*, tending to *popularity* and *disunion*, wherefore above all things to be avoyded. Nor is any *neer dependance* upon a *forreign Prince*, more *mighty* then *themselves*, *compatible* with *Liberty*: Which renders *lending* of vast Summs little less dangerous then *borrowing*. And through which the *Catholique King* may one day attain *Genoa*; it being naturall to all *Creditors* to favour their designs that *owe* them *mony*, in hope of *Payment*; and so become *Traitors* to the *generality*, out of the desire of a *particular reimbursement*. Such folly lyes in *many Citizens*, as they preferre

ferre *destruction in grosse*, before the *hazard* of their *private Intereſts*.

But when *Power* is *Monopolized* in a *ſingle* perſon, *Faction* can be *no more ſpared*, then an *eye* or an *ear*. *Kings* for the generality, out of *Ignorance* in the world, if not for *want of wit*, or too much *Flattery*, being unable to value what they *give* or *receive*; or whether they *gratifie* or *depreſſe vertue* or *vice*, eſpecially if they have no *other* information, but what is *deduced* from a *Minion*, whoſe *judgement* is no leſs clouded through *Pride*, then *his* is by *affection*, and a *ſuppoſition* of *worth* and *abilities* not really preſent; Such *Servants* owning *contrary intereſts* to *their Maſters*, who by *bearing the charges* of thoſe *follies* they daily commit, do not ſeldom prove *Banckrupts* themſelves of all ought to be eſteemed dear in *Soveraignty*.

Nor are thoſe *ſingle Truſtees* of the

the *Royall assent*, found by practise so *impartiall* in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*, but that they *diminish* by the first, no less their *Princes Love*, then they *augment* in the latter the *peoples hatred*; which an *even debate* would so far *Moderate*, as to give such *satisfaction* as might *preserve* the generality in *obedience*, by nothing so soon *forfeited*, as a *continued succession* of *cruell punishments*, and *unjust Censures*. I remember after *Felton* had given the *fatall blow* to *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, one *Savil*, a lusty fellow, formerly *burnt* in the Shoulder for a *Rogue* (finding how *acceptable* the news was, where ever it came) gave out, he was the man that did it: And that though an *honourable persons brother*, he wanted mony to *convey* him away; upon which he was apprehended, and though not *worth a groat*, fined a con-

considerable sum in the *Star-Chamber*, to which, the *wisdom*, *equity* and *justice* of *that Court*, added (because they wanted power to hang him) this *Corporall punishment*, *viz.* That he should be whipped from the *Fleet* where he lay prisoner, to the *Pilory* in *Westminster-palace-yard*, there to be for two hours nailed, & after to lose one ear, have his nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the *bowels of humanity would give me leave*, I looked upon: Nor was this more then half his punishment, as much being to be done to him in *Cheapside*, but that (as I heard) the *King* more charitable then his *Judges*, did pardon it; Though his perpetuall residence in *Bridewell* was not remitted, till for another thing (some thought unlikely to be done under such a restraint) he was hanged at *Tiburn*. I had not touched upon this

this, as relating to a time which none can remember without being agitated by *envy*, or *grief*: but to acquaint posterity, with the opinion of a *Lord*, looked upon as the wisest for counsell, (however he might have failed in reference to *execution*) in his time: Who at dinner that day with some of the *promoters* of the *fore-mentioned Sentence*, said, that though he *hoped* it would *never* be *executed*, yet it grieved him, a *president* of that high nature should remain *upon record*, no less to the *dishonour* of their *Mercy*, then the *Justice* of his *Majesty*, upon *whose score* it might not unpossibly one day *lye heavy*: Nor did it scape the notice of the next *Parl.* as any may find, can procure a sight of a *book* written by *Regall autority*, wherein the *Subject* was prohibited so much as to name a *Parliament*, &c. But the conclusion of the fore-mentio-

ned prudent *Lord*, was to prove, that of *all* puniſhments *death* was *ſooneſt forgotten*; whereas *Whipping* and *Pilory* were *alwayes remembred*: from whence *Governours* may *obſerve*, That *the greateſt Cruelty is exerciſed by Subjects have had their foundations laid in pitty*. Nor can this digreſſion be thought impertinent, by thoſe ſhall conſider, that ſuch *exorbitant* and *unnaturall* repetitions of *Puniſhments*, were ſtrangers during the domination of *two equall factions*. Through the percuſſion of which, like *Flint* and *Steel*, all things came to light, which theſe *pleas* might *advance*, or *Eclipſe* the glory of the *Prince*.

Nor ſhould I proſecute this *Epidemicall* miſchief of *Favorites*, at this time common with *France* and *Spain*, but to anſwer ſuch as plead for it: Whom I have heard ſo *impudent*, as to alledge the example

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of our bleſſed *Saviour*; and no leſſe *fooliſh* in citing the *antority* due to the *Prudence* of *Italy*, where no *Pope* lives without a *Nephew*: Forgetting the whole management of the *Church* was not left to *Saint John*; nor the wiſe *Conclave* ſwayed by his *Holineſſe Kindred*, who being incircled on all ſides with enemies, and deſtitute by reaſon of his *elective honour*, of any *hereditary friendſhip*, cannot *in Reaſon* provide better for his *ſafety*, againſt the *dangers* have for many Ages waited upon the *Table* and *Cup* of the *Pope*, then by raiſing a perſon to ſo *high a dignity* about him, as may tranſcend any *preferments* likely to be offered by an *enemy*. The cauſe he that is ſtiled his *Nephew*, values *his* preſervation equally with *his owne*. And he that ſhall

yet seek further *satisfaction*, may finde it in the unhappy management of such *Princes* affairs, as have suffered themselves to be ingrossed by *Minions*, taken onely upon the bare *recommendations* of their *private Affections*.

It is the condition of those in Power *to be guided by* Servants.

THey say of the *Whale* that she is steered in her course through the guidance of a far *smaller Fish*, and a lesser then that is reported to alter the *Naturall* gale of a *Ship*, looked upon as wonders in the deep, though few things are more *usuall* and *Familiar* upon *Land*. All our State-*Leviathans* being so far guided by their *Servants*, *Wives*, *Mistresses* or *Favorites*, that in a true sense there is no *Monarchy*, all things for the most part succeeding according to the *perswasions* of others if not contrary to the will of the *Prince*: A Mischief not to be quite obviated, but at the peril of falling into *Obstinacy*, (as great if

not a more prejudiciall extream) nor hath any *King* under my experience, been able to drive on his *Affayres*, without grating upon one of theſe *exceſſes*. So as a Nation like that of *Egypt*, is not ſeldome governed by a *Stranger* or a *Few*. There being no ſuch thing in an unlimited ſenſe, as an *Abſolute Government*, or if poſſible to be found, it muſt be in that as improperly ſtiled *Free*. Which proves there is no reall *Liberty*, or *Power* totally *Arbitrary*, in the nature of *Things*. For though the Incomparable *Prudence* of the *State of Venice*, hath compounded for moſt of the errours committed by the Senators of *Carthage*; And *Queen Elizabeth* ſhunned the greateſt *Rocks* of *Tyranny* (though as free from compulſion, as ever any *Prince* ſtood;) yet the Juriſdiction of either was as remote from being purely or totally *Abſolute*, as the

the condition of their Subjects is uncapable of the name of *Freedom*. They being both too ineſtimable *Jewels* to be intruſted with *paſſion*, *ſingle*, and without any mediation from *Counſell* or *Law*. I confeſs the *Grand Signior* can ſtrangle whom he pleaſe; but it is ſeldom done at his own ſuit, no more then any deſert is gratified: I my ſelf have known many, ſo far *Strangers* to what was convenient, as they would ſcarce concede or deny any thing, out of the preſence of their *Secretary*. And this proceeded not ſeldom from a diſtruſt there was no cauſe for: Manifeſt in the *Earl* of *Somerſet*, who though himſelf owner of a competent ſufficiency, was ſo Inchanted with an opinion of Sir *Thomas Overburies* parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to ſuch an intimate *friendſhip*, as he could think nothing well-educated

for imployment in his *Office*, that had not paſſed his *Correction*, nor ſecret ſafe laid up, but in his *Boſom*: which ſwelled him to ſuch a *Monſtroſity* in pride, that I have heard (not being my ſelf then neer the *Engliſh Court*) how he offered to rant at his *Servants*, and did once beat the *Coach-man*, for putting his Commands under an inferiour expoſtulation to his *Maſters*. And through this intolerable arrogance in him, and remiſſneſs in the *Earl*, the ſparks firſt flew, that kindled the ruine of them both: friendſhip being no more able to maintain its intereſt againſt a *feminine Affection*, then ſo great a *Pride* was to confine it ſelf within the tedder of *Moderation*. The Minions of my time (an *epidemicall* miſchief over all the great Nations of *Chriſtendom* where Monarchy ſwayes) did, during that *Fortune*, ſo far tranſcend

their

their *Patrons felicity*, as they could gratifie all the rest of their *Passions* (quite exempt from fear or danger) being screened from both by the person of their *Prince*, whom in reason they ought to *defend*; It having been often averred in my experience, that all the *Kings* I have known, were found to do more for their *Favorites*, then they could be tempted to have done for *themselves*. Which may serve for a proof of this *Assertion*, 'that *the greatest are not Free, but led in triumph by the Affections of others, through the mediation of their own*, by which means *Women* come to Govern, and *Children* to dispose of *Common-wealths*. And thus the hand of Providence, though steady in it self, doth out of a desire to appear *various* (and so more *beautifull*) not onely remove the great men, but the *pawns* so occultly,

in this huge *Chesse*-board of the *world*, as they seem to our giddy apprehensions, to be dandled in the *Lap* of a contingent *Successe*. Though good or bad Luck are meerly *Imaginary*, like the *Articke* and *Antarticke* Poles, on which the world, as on the two ends of an Axletree, are feigned to depend. Wherefore the apparent *Reason* why great men are ruled by more obscure fools, is want of *Judgement* or *Sufficiency*. The hidden Justice of God upon the Nation in generall, or persons in particular, who are naturally unworthy through disobedience, or have rendred themselves so, by a Male-administration of Affairs: The cause their Power is shared with meaner People, first sought to in all Suits incident to their Places. And this Custom hath brought into such credit

credit amongst *men*, as forgetting how much it savours of *weakness*, they labour to make it *Necessary* in the *Court of Heaven*. As if God were more *Importuned*, or less affected by our immediate Addresses, then when we offer'd our *Prayers* through the intercession of the *blessed Virgin*, or some other *Saint*: Consonant to a Memorable Answer to a *Catholick*, made by *King James*, 'That the 'Ruler of all things was not subject to 'dote like him.

Yet wise men Govern in their own persons, as *Ioseph* is said to rule *Egypt*; for had not his Servants used to afford more *obedience* then *advice*, so dishonest an action in outward appearance, could never have passed without expostulation, as the putting the *Cup* in *Benjamins Sack*. To end this Discourse, nothing *plausible* ought

ought to be referred to a *Servant's* dispatch, nor that which is less *Popular* done by a *Master*; since he that is used to rake in *dirt* must imploy an *Instrument*, least the *filth* should stick too apparently on his fingers. Thus *Princes* juggle by *Confederacy*, whilest meaner men rule in their own persons.

FINIS.